Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

PRELIMINARY ECONOMIC STUDIES OF THE WAR

DISABLED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

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DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

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PRELIMINARY ECONOMIC STUDIES OF THE WAR

EDITED BY

DAVID KINLEY

Professor of Political Economy, University of Illinois
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No. 12

DISABLED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS PENSIONS AND TRAINING

BY

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ASSISTED BY

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Fortunately for the people of the United States, the subject of the restoration of disabled soldiers and sailors to economic usefulness has become of less importance in point of magnitude than it feared might be necessary at the time the work was undertaken. The prolongation of the war would have brought us many more thousands of injured men to care for and the matter would, therefore, have required a much more widespread attention on the part of our people. However, although the number for whom we have thus to provide is happily smaller than we feared would be the case, their proper treatment and care is one that requires the fullest knowledge and deserves the deepest interest and attention of the nation. Dr. Devine's study of the subject is, therefore, exceedingly timely. The thoroughness with which he has done his work, the sympathy with which he has treated the subject, the opportunities which he had abroad to study the methods of Great Britain and France, and his general familiarity with the field of social amelioration, all help to give his report an importance and value which the work of but few writers on the subject could equally well command. His long stay in France in Red Cross duties has given him opportunities to secure first-hand information and he has presented it clearly and skilfully. The general public, as well as those who are professionally connected with the matter, will thus find his study not only important but extremely interesting.

In addition to his study of the subject in Great Britain and France, Dr. Devine has added chapters on Canada, the United States, Germany and Austria. His report shows that in this matter, as in so many others, the Central Powers have looked farther ahead than the rest of the world and were, at the opening of the war, prepared to reduce the human wastage from

wounds to a minimum. From them and their experience, too, we have something to learn.

Dr. Devine's study goes into the subject of the public attitude toward, and treatment of, the duty which the nation owes to those who have thus sacrificed themselves in its behalf. His discussion of the "new program," as he calls it, should direct our attention sharply to the subject of restoring those who are industrially disabled as well as those who have suffered in war. In other words, the experience gained from the treatment of those disabled in battle should be extended in time of peace to those who suffer from industrial accidents. Like the rest of the world, we have been neglectful of this duty. Economically, as well as morally, the restoration of the industrially disabled should be a permanent and profitable feature of our future public policy.

DAVID KINLEY.

University of Illinois.

FOREWORD

It will be obvious to any reader of the following pages that they were written before the end of the war was in sight. The manuscript was completed early in October, 1918, and in general it traces developments to that date. There would be comparatively little to add if it were to be revised now, as page proofs are passed: final official reports of the nature of casualties are not yet available; the systems which had been established in the principal countries have not been materially modified in the intervening months; and it is still too early to make any study of results. Five or ten years from now we may hope for an appraisal of the new methods of providing for disabled soldiers and sailors.

EDWARD T. DEVINE.

NEW YORK,
April, 1919.

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DISABLED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS
PENSIONS AND TRAINING

PART I—INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

Disabilities Caused by the World War

At the moment in the history of civilization when the economic usefulness of the individual worker has been carried to the highest point of progress in the arts and sciences, by the organization of industry and by the accumulation of capital, a world war has suddenly exposed to the risk of disablement a wholly unprecedented number of the world's workers. Never before have so many young and able-bodied men been maimed in the same time. Never before would it have been so important to society —to say nothing of their own interest—that they should as quickly and as completely as possible be restored to economic usefulness.

Past wars, even when a large part of the male population was engaged, left fewer wrecks because the mortality among the wounded was greater. Industrial and highway accidents happen to one or a few at a time, day after day, year after year, and the injured are scattered among many hospitals and surgeons for treatment, not gathered together by thousands and tens of thousands. They regain their place by painful individual effort, not through the concerted effort of governmental agencies, schools for vocational reeducation, and special employment bureaus. Earlier they might sue for damages; more recently they might expect assured compensation or pension. The present number of the disabled, especially in the countries which have been in the great war from the start, has compelled consideration of the necessity for training, and for whatever else may be essential to their restoration as completely as possible to an honorable

place in some productive trade or profession, both for the sake of their own satisfaction and because the most generous provision by society could not possibly prove adequate for their needs and those of their families without such cooperation on their part.

There are many who anticipate that every man who is engaged in the great present conflict will be in a measure "disabled" for resuming ordinary civil life when he comes home, whether he has sustained any obvious physical injury or not. It is argued by some that the military discipline, with its emphasis on obedience, submission to authority, merging of the individual in the organized unit, will have destroyed all power of initiative; by others, on the other hand, that the free life in the open air, untrammeled by the conventions of society, undisturbed by the necessity of earning a living, will have bred a distaste for the restraints of ordinary occupations; and that in either case the able-bodied soldier at the end of the war will be nearly as troublesome a problem as the one who is crippled or blinded. A neurologist has ventured to predict that no man who has spent a considerable time in the fighting forces abroad will return with his nervous system in a normal condition. Some say, furthermore, that the changes in industry have been so great in the last three or four years that the man who has been away will find himself in the position of Rip Van Winkle; that, even apart from the serious complication that the places left vacant by the men who went into the fighting forces have been filled by girls and women and boys and old men, so many new processes and so much new machinery have been introduced, efficiency methods have been developed to such a degree, that every man accustomed to the industrial *status quo ante* will require a period of reeducation and guidance before he can safely be allowed to resume his place in civil society. Some even propose a tutelary period of six months or so in the home country for readaptation to ordinary life before discharge from the army.

If any such universal psychical disabilities appear, we shall have to trust to nature to restore an equilibrium. Our present

concern is with the more definite physical handicaps resulting from disease or injuries received in the course of service.

Factors Affecting the Number and the Nature of Casualties

Every great war has had its own medical history. There is more difference than similarity in the nature of the wounds and diseases from which the armies suffer; the organization and competency of sanitary, medical, and surgical service; and the consequent ratio of killed to wounded, of deaths from disease to deaths from injuries received in action, the mortality among the wounded, and the proportion of disabled survivors. From the simple wounds of sword, spear, and arrow in the battles of the Trojan War—described by Homer with such precision that some scholars are inclined to think that he must have been one of the regimental surgeons from the pestilence sent by Apollo because Agamemnon had insulted one of his priests, to the complicated lacerated injuries of modern weapons, trench fever, shell shock, and gas poisoning; from the simple Homeric treatment of wounds by cleansing and applications of herbs or incantations, and of the plague by consultation with a soothsayer who happily could indicate the course of action which would appease the wrath of the god, to our elaborate modern systems of stretchers, ambulances, mobile operating units, dressing stations, base hospitals, orthopedic hospitals, specialized institutions of every variety, laboratories for bacteriological examination, apparatus, instruments, nursing, and every other known aid to diagnosis, research, and cure—all this is a fascinating story, but one which is aside from the main purpose of the present study.

Equally fascinating, but also outside our field, is the story of the part played by war in the progress of medicine and surgery. It was Hippocrates who said that "war is the only proper school for the surgeon," and every great war since then has attested his wisdom, even though the battle-field is no longer the only place where one may have an opportunity of studying the struc-

ture and workings of the parts of the body which lie below the surface. The multiplication of cases for observation and practice, however, presented by war, together with the urgent necessity for saving life and restoring health, can not but promote skill and knowledge and stimulate progress by leaps and bounds. Larrey, surgeon in chief to Napoleon's Grande Armée, is said to have performed two hundred operations in a single day. A young American writes home in 1918, after his first experience at the front, that in two days during a battle he had himself performed more operations than he had seen in his entire medical course and hospital training and two years of private practice. The eagerness of the medical men of all countries to help in the military service is testimony to the opportunity it offers for learning, as well as to their desire to contribute their services where they are needed.

Many factors combine to determine the number and nature of the casualties in any war, and the character and amount of the residuum of disability at the end of it. Not only the kind of weapons used and the existing state of medical science are important, but also the general physical condition of the men at the beginning, the climate, soil, and features of the terrain, the quality of the food, facilities for cleanliness, the "routine" of the battles, and other circumstances affecting more or less directly the kind of care which can be given the sick and wounded. Science, working impartially for life and for death, seems to hold the balance fairly even between the art of destruction and the art of healing.

In the present war the first circumstance of significance is the numbers of men engaged. Armies are numbered by millions, not by tens of thousands. It is the able-bodied manhood of the nations concerned that is engaged, and it is not one or two or three nations, but all the great nations of the western world with their colonies and dependencies, and every continent is involved. In such a conflict as this, the number of disabled must inevitably be enormous, however favorable the other circumstances might be. The number is sure to be so great that sta-

tistics seem to lose their meaning; it makes little difference exactly how many we may expect, or just what proportion they may be of the total number engaged, or just what ratio to the number killed, when we know that there will certainly be more than our utmost efforts can provide for adequately.

There are other ways, moreover, in which the mere magnitude of the forces affects the medical history of the present war, and consequently the number of disabled men who will remain at the end. It complicates all the arrangements for the care of the wounded, producing congestion and consequent delay and comparative neglect for a certain number all along the line. When in a single week over a hundred thousand wounded men must be treated, as happened in the French army in the first battle of the Marne, they can not all receive immediate attention and they can not all receive adequate attention. A surgeon who operates continuously for thirty-six or for forty-eight hours must make a certain percentage of mistakes in judgment and in technique. It complicates also the provision and distribution of food and clothing, thus affecting the general health of the men, though this is more easily managed and less serious than the ambulance and hospital arrangements. One advantage in the large numbers has been pointed out by an English surgeon who thinks that the mere fact that so large a proportion of the ablest medical men of the country has been needed has created an "atmosphere of healthy controversy" favorable to progress in methods of treatment.

Never before, probably, in spite of the great numbers, have the men of great armies been so carefully selected with regard to their fitness to meet the physical and mental demands of the service. There was carelessness at first by recruiting officers, no doubt, in England and Canada, but this was quickly corrected, and there has been little chance for selection in France and Belgium and some other countries, because of the exigencies of the situation; but on the whole the soldiers of the present war have probably been in better physical condition at the start than those of any other great war. This is notably true of the American

army. "We are putting into the field," said Surgeon General Gorgas at a recent meeting of the American Medical Association, "the best army, physically and mentally, in the world." The soldiers in the present war have also, no doubt, been better fed and better clothed and under better sanitary conditions, in so far as the infections to which they have been exposed have been within the control of sanitary science. Colonel D'Arcy Power goes so far as to say[1] that the vast majority of the British troops have lived under better sanitary conditions than they do at home.

Care in the selection of men and protection of their health may even reduce the number of wounds they will receive and influence the nature of those wounds. It certainly minimizes the number who will be disabled by insanity, tuberculosis, and certain other diseases, and it increases the probability of a favorable prognosis even in the case of wounds.

The weapons and methods used in the present war have introduced a new range of injuries and intensified the horrors of familiar varieties. A French surgeon, in a book published in 1918,[2] refers to a series of lectures he had given at the beginning of mobilization in 1914 as entirely theoretical—"it could not have been otherwise"—because they were of necessity based on experience from past wars, which is wholly out of date. In general the wounds of the present war are far more serious in their nature. A larger proportion of them are fatal immediately. A larger proportion of those which are not fatal are complicated and extensive.

Range of Injuries in the Present War

For a satisfactory review of the varieties of injuries and their relative importance numerically it will be necessary to await the publication of official reports and statistics, which for obvious reasons will not be available until the war is over, but a few of the more conspicuous facts already a matter of

[1] *Wounds in War,* Oxford War Primers. 1915.
[2] Mauclaire: *Chirurgie de Guerre.* 1918.

common knowledge will serve to indicate the character of the problems which have confronted the medical services of the armies and the extent to which they have been unexpected and unprecedented.

Artillery fire, including gas bombs as well as shrapnel, is the most important cause of casualties. Hand grenades and small fire-arms come next, while *armes blanches* are almost negligible as a cause of disability, though the bayonet remains an active instrument of death. Shrapnel and bombs and pointed bullets cause extensive lacerations of the soft tissues and multiple fractures of bones and joints. The intense force of the bullets—and occasionally of other projectiles—has disproved the classic belief of the days of slower missiles, that the fibers of nerve cords merely separate and let the ball pass through and can not be injured by fire-arms. Now nerves are actually shattered, like bones. The tremendous concussion and noise of the high explosives paralyzes the central nervous system, while the prolonged and extraordinary tension produces neurasthenia. Liquid fire and gas shells cause burns and unusual kinds of poisoning. The water and mud and lice of the trenches develop "trench foot," which may necessitate amputation, and "trench fever," which sometimes leaves a weakened condition requiring a long period of convalescence. New forms of infection, like "Spanish influenza," appear. Trench warfare and bombs from airplanes result in an unusual proportion of wounds on the top of the head and the face. A report from Germany[1] says that more left arms are lost than right, because the left arm is unprotected when the men are lying in position for shooting in the trenches, and because wounds of the left arm are frequently aggravated by fragments of the wrist-watch. French figures, however, show more right arms amputated than left.

The conditions produced by these injuries are for the most part no different from injuries which may be caused in civil life. Surgeons and physicians frequently repeat the statement, in one form or another, that the condition under discussion is in no re-

[1] *Journal of the American Medical Association,* February 9, 1918.

spect peculiar, but is encountered in ordinary practice with the same symptoms, though caused by different circumstances. This is especially noticeable in the case of the functional nervous disorders. Shell shock at first sight strikes the layman as a new and strange phenomenon, but neurologists tell us that it is new only in the number of cases. That is, in fact, the essence of the novelty throughout—thousands of cases of a particular injury which in times of peace might be encountered once in a doctor's lifetime. The infectious disease known as trench fever may indeed be called new, for it has at any rate never received serious attention before. Though rarely if ever fatal, it has been one of the most serious causes of disability among the armies of the Allies on the western front, and by its debilitating effects may even produce permanent unfitness for military service. It has been definitely established by the United States Army Medical Corps that the suspicions already fastened upon the "cootie" are justified; in other words, that trench fever is a germ disease, though the germ has not yet been isolated, and that it is transmitted by the bite of the trench louse, with which most of the troops in the western lines are infested. This demonstration will probably save thousands of men from this disease, for, as Secretary Baker said in his official announcement of the discovery: "As long as the protection of the men from lice was only a matter of comfort and of no military importance, their extermination did not warrant extraordinary measures, but now that it is known that it is not simply a matter of discomfort, but that the 'cootie' is incidentally one of the largest causes of disability, it is deemed worthy of extraordinary efforts to control these pests."

In the surgery of the present war the soil of Flanders and Picardy has played an important and far from beneficent rôle. Highly cultivated ground, manured for centuries, the battle-field of the western front "teemed with micro-organisms," some harmless, but others dangerous in every degree, and including the pus-forming germs and the bacillus of tetanus. The impossibility of personal cleanliness in the trenches means that

clothing, skin and hair are covered with germs from the soil, which the bullet or other projectile carries into the wound, so that every wound, it was soon found, gets its "dose" of infection from the battle-ground, and it frequently has ample time to establish itself before the wound can receive attention. English surgeons who had experience in the South African War are struck with the contrast due to this one factor: in the pure air, bright sunlight, and uncontaminated sandy soil infection of wounds was as unnecessary as it is in private practice; under the conditions of this war it is the rule. Surgery was thrown back to the days of Lister, when most wounds suppurated, and treatment has been greatly complicated by the necessity of extraordinary methods of antisepsis. The tetanus bacillus frequently necessitates amputation, as does also the "gaseous gangrene," one of the most dreaded of the septic complications of the injuries of the war, caused by gas-producing microbes.[1]

Another feature of the current methods of warfare which has affected the situation of the wounded is the almost continuous fighting for weeks at a time. Immediate attention by *brancardiers* and transportation as rapidly as possible to the *poste de secours*—this, to quote Dr. Mauclaire again, is "parfait en théorie, mais très difficilement réalisable" when the field is constantly under fire and the line is bending its position. Frequently it is only the slightly wounded, those who can walk or drag themselves back without assistance, who can get to a dressing-station "promptly." The others must lie where they fall until night comes, at least.

The beneficent forces of science and human ingenuity, therefore, have been hard put to it to keep pace with the stupefying advance of means of destruction and the invisible enemies of the soil. Marvels have been accomplished, considering all the circumstances of the situation, though medical writers are more disposed to spend their time in searching for improved methods and better results than in congratulating themselves over what

[1] It is announced by Surgeon General Gorgas in the daily press that the Rockefeller Institute has developed a successful anti-toxin for gas gangrene.

has already been achieved. Future generations will be called upon to admire the achievements of these sanitarians and physicians, and to recognize with appreciation that the improvements in facilities for prompt removal from the battle-field, for early application of antisepsis, for immediate operation in the automobile operating room if necessary, and rapid and comfortable transportation to the rear for more thorough treatment,[1] the general use of the radiograph, the invention and use of effective means of disinfection until the wounds are healed, have saved thousands of lives; while increased skill and improved technique in the treatment of fractures, dislocations, and mutilations have saved thousands of others from disfigurement and incapacity; and patience and ingenuity with the *commotionnés* have restored many tired and disordered minds to their normal state. Above all, it is appropriate to recognize the personal devotion of the medical profession, which has not been surpassed by that of any other in disregard of comfort and safety and in unsparing exertion, at home and at the front.

Better results have been secured progressively through the months of the war, as experience has been gained and new devices perfected and the administrative machinery improved. Figures commonly quoted say that 80 per cent of the wounded who live to be removed from the battle-field return to service, either at the front or on the lines of communication, early reports from Germany claiming 90 per cent or more; and that the mortality rate among the wounded who come under care is perhaps four per cent; leaving thus something like 10 to 20 per cent permanently disabled, of those who are wounded. The Paris correspondent of the *Lancet* reports an official announcement (January 26, 1918) that out of four million cases received in hospitals and ambulances three million

[1] It is reported in the daily papers, June, 1918, that the average time of the wounded transported by the United States Ambulance Service in the recent battles was only two to four hours from battle-field to base hospital in Paris, including a stop at a dressing station. Dr. Mauclaire says that an English soldier wounded in Picardy in the morning may be in a London hospital by evening. He refers to the use of the aeroplane to evacuate the wounded over the mountains in the retreat from Serbia, though Reymond's dream that it might pick them up from the battle-field has not been realized.

and a half had been returned to the front. The experience of Canada, with about 250,000 men in the field, shows about 28,000 discharged for disability to May, 1918. On the basis of the best figures available in the summer of 1917, Dr. I. M. Rubinow, of New York, arrived at the estimate of 63,000 permanently disabled by wounds per year per million of men engaged. Surgeon General Gorgas, at the recent meeting of the American Medical Association, expressed his anticipations—which undoubtedly are based upon information as to the experience of our allies as well as upon a knowledge of the conditions facing our men—in terms which correspond with the figures in currency: "We expect to put back 75 or 80 per cent of the wounded into the trenches. We believe that not more than 10 per cent of those wounded will be permanently disabled."

The net result of the progress in the two opposite directions—toward destroying life and toward saving it—will probably be a larger proportion of disabled survivors than after any previous war in the history of the world, as well as an absolute number unprecedented in size.

Nature of the Resulting Disabilities

Just as physicians and surgeons see in the injuries produced by the strange new weapons and methods of the present war an essential identity, in spite of the difference in the causes, with injuries produced by other weapons and by accidents and with diseases produced by circumstances of civil life, so also the disabilities resulting after medical science has done its best have long been familiar. In numbers only are they unique, and in the circumstances surrounding the men. In civil life accidents which leave men crippled or mutilated or blind or deaf happen individually. Their victims are not concentrated in institutions devoted exclusively to their care, and they come from many different groups of associates, not from a single gigantic organization which is literally the whole nation in arms. Tuberculosis and heart disease, likewise, and neurasthenia and rheumatism, are every-day experiences in times of peace, but they too come

to individuals here and there, in all occupations and stations of life, and are realized only—with the possible exception of tuberculosis—by those immediately and personally concerned, the individual, his family and friends, his physician, and frequently the charitable agencies of his town. The war is doing what a few organizations have been trying for many years with much effort to accomplish. It is "educating the public" in regard to the "social aspects" of disease and disability. Now for the first time these every-day problems of physical disability assume such proportions and present such an appealing aspect that they command attention from the entire nation.

Statistics of the nature and distribution of the permanent disabilities resulting from the war are as yet only fragmentary. The British Minister of Pensions, however, presented in the House of Commons on May 28 a classification of the 341,026 disabled men who had received pensions from the government to the end of April, 1918;[1] statistics for the 19,200 Canadian soldiers pensioned to the end of February, 1918, are available through the courtesy of the Board of Pension Commissioners of Canada; and at the first Inter-Allied Conference for the study of questions concerning men disabled in the war, held in Paris in May, 1917, various items of information about forty thousand *réformés et réformables No. 1* were presented by the statistician of the Office National des Mutilés et Réformés de la Guerre,[2] from which it is possible to construct a table.

As the British and Canadian figures are classified according to the same general scheme, they are combined in one table. The French figures are given separately. The differences in the two tables are striking. The English and Canadian figures show a much smaller proportion of amputations and other injuries to the legs and arms, a much higher proportion of unclassified injuries and general diseases. "Eyesight cases" are three or four times as numerous among the French as among the British.

[1] Reported in the New York *Evening Post*. Official reports of the parliamentary debates for this date are not available, as they have not been sent out of the country since the first of May.

[2] The same figures are included in Bulletin No. 2 of the Office National.

There are no doubt differences in definition and standards for discharge which would explain some of the contrasts. The "deafness" among the English, for example, may include partially deaf, as it explicitly does among the Canadians; among the French only the incurably deaf in both ears are counted under this head. The chief explanation of the contrasts, however, lies in the fact that the men who are "pensioned" in France are a much more restricted group, including only those whose disabilities are grave (over 60 per cent), incurable, and directly imputable to the service—practically only cases of mutilation or "suppression of an organ"—while less serious injuries are classified with those incurred before or outside the service, and are compensated by a "gratification," not a pension.

DISTRIBUTION OF DISABILITIES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND CANADA

Nature of Disability	Percentage Great Britain	Canada
Eyesight cases	2.80	2.92
Wounds and injuries		
To legs, necessitating amputation	2.60	2.36
To arms, necessitating amputation	1.40	1.92
To legs, not necessitating amputation	11.90	9.65
To arms and hands, not necessitating amputation	12.90	7.76
To head	4.00	2.68
Miscellaneous wounds and injuries	7.25	....
Chest complaints and tuberculosis	11.60	15.12
Rheumatism	6.50	....
Heart disease	10.30	6.79
Epilepsy	1.00	.68
Nervous diseases, shell shock, etc.	6.00	8.51
Insanity	.75	.68
Deafness	2.00	3.29
"Disease, Leg"	....	6.05
"Disease, Arm"	....	.03
Nephritis	....	2.42
Miscellaneous diseases	19.00	....
Miscellaneous disabilities	....	29.14
Total	100.00	100.00

DISABILITIES OF 40,000 FRENCH "RÉFORMÉS No. 1"

Nature of Disability	Percentage
Major amputations, upper limbs	6.3
Major amputations, lower limbs	10.4
Injuries to upper limbs, not resulting in amputation	30.5
Injuries to lower limbs, not resulting in amputation	23.9
Injuries to the head	6.1
Totally blind	1.0
Blind in one eye	9.7
Totally deaf	.5
Injuries to other parts of the body or general diseases	11.6
Total	100.0

The two tables agree in contradicting the popular conception that the "disabled soldier" is usually a man with an empty sleeve or trouser-leg. Even in the French table the proportion of those who have suffered amputation is only 16.7 per cent, while among the English and Canadians they are only four per cent of all. "Dismemberment," as it is unpleasantly and inaccurately called, is by no means the major part of the problem. Cripples, however, if we include not only amputations but all crippling conditions, are by far the largest group of all: nearly three-fourths among the French, perhaps 35 to 40 per cent among the English, and probably not much less among the Canadians. Both tables show also that the blind and the deaf are happily very small groups. Insanity accounts for less than one per cent among the English and Canadians. The English and Canadian figures give to tuberculosis, heart disease, and nervous disturbances a place far more important than that of amputations, and subordinate only to the entire group of crippling conditions.

If we were dealing with the whole mass of disabilities produced by the war, the transient and curable and the fatal as well as those which leave some permanent impairment, the proportions would be very different and the list of headings would be much longer: but we are concerned, it must be remembered constantly, with the condition of the men who survive their service permanently disabled by disease or wound. "Permanently" and "disabled" both being relative terms, we can do no better than to adopt the definitions expressed by the govern-

ment in discharge and pension, and consider as our field of interest the body of men who are discharged from military service with such a degree of disability that they are considered to be entitled to a pension or "compensation."

The disabilities which they exhibit are the familiar ones of every-day civilian life—lameness and deformity of many kinds; the chronic diseases, especially tuberculosis, affections of the heart and of the nervous system; defective sight and hearing. There is a striking contrast, however, between this group of disabled men and the similarly handicapped persons well known to charity. These men as a rule have no other handicap than the one they bring out of the war. They are young; with the exception of those who have contracted a chronic disease, they are fundamentally healthy; they have not been demoralized by years of privation or idleness or the habit of dependence; their families and their home environment, when they return to them, are "normal," with normal incentives for effort and stimulus to ambition; finally, the whole world is anxious to help them to the maximum degree of recovery, physical, social, and economic. Their "prognosis," therefore, is favorable, beyond all comparison with that of their similarly handicapped brothers in the days before the war.

PART II—HISTORICAL

CHAPTER II

Disabled Soldiers and Sailors in the Past

From the days of the glory of Athens down to the present time the claims of citizens who have been disabled in fighting for their country have received grateful, if spasmodic, recognition, and their needs have been met in various ways, according to local circumstances and the spirit of the times.

In Athens, by a provision attributed to Solon or to Pisistratus, invalid warriors whose property amounted to less than three minas received their pension of an obol a day, later increased to two obols, as a part of the system by which the orphans of those who died in battle were supported, educated, and equipped for a start in life at the public expense.

Under the Roman Empire citizen soldiers shared in the prodigal distribution of free corn and oil and other necessities of life, and veterans were entitled to a generous sum of money on completing their term of service, frequently receiving in addition a grant of land on the frontier. In all this disabled veterans participated, presumably, along with those who were so fortunate as to come through their campaigns unharmed.

The Middle Ages

Under the feudal system disabled warriors were cared for as a natural part of the relation between lord and vassal. When the wars went favorably booty could be divided; and the right of pillage, supplemented by gifts of land, constituted a sufficient fund. It would be idealizing this system to claim for it that disabled soldiers were never neglected, just as it would be ideal-

izing slavery to claim that under it industrial or agricultural workers who received injuries were always humanely treated and restored to usefulness because that would be the master's interest. There were always leakages and evasions of responsibility, and these increased as the system weakened.

Throughout this period, in fact, and well into modern times, a prevailing device for meeting the needs of all sorts of dependents was to allow them to beg on the highways. Public begging, we may almost say, was the typical relief institution. Long after rulers and thinkers had come to realize the evils of mendicancy in general, special license was extended to the lame and the blind, especially if they had received their injuries in the service of their country. It was the able-bodied beggars, not the handicapped, who were the object of the early protests and legislation against mendicancy, both in England and on the continent.

Among the throngs of beggars who overran western Europe maimed veterans formed the favored class. Blind, legless, armless wrecks, in troops or in pairs, assorted so as to supplement each other's deficiencies, frequented the traveled roads, markets, fairs and other public places, and demanded support from the passers-by. Covered with rags and exposing their mutilations to the best advantage, in order to present as piteous a spectacle as possible, they exploited to the utmost, on the other hand, their remnants of military dress which suggested a glorious past, and strove to arouse sympathy for their present miseries by recounting their adventures and deeds of valor. When alms were inadequate they often had recourse to rapine and highway robbery.

When the local communes came into existence in France, and the third estate came to be recognized—not yet as the equal of the clergy and nobles, but as having some claim which the lords must recognize, it became possible for the king to count upon a certain degree of popular cooperation, both in the furnishing of soldiers and in caring for those whom the wars left helpless. Thus in the thirteenth century it was realized that Philip Augustus, in his conquest of Normandy and in driving out the

German invader, was engaged in a national rather than in a feudal or local enterprise. Naturally, therefore, those who came back from the fighting worn out or maimed had a claim upon the consideration of their neighbors quite different from any which could have been asserted two centuries before by those who as serfs or vassals followed the lordly proprietor on his private raids and expeditions. It was yet to be a long time, however, before the new sentiment became general or fully justified, and before the natural inferences with which we are familiar could be drawn from it.

The crusades gave rise to widespread social distress in all countries from which the crusading bands and armies were recruited. Contagious diseases were brought back to Europe from the Orient, and it is said that the prevalence of diseases of the eye, originating in this way, was a factor in bringing about the founding by Saint Louis of the Maison des Quinze-Vingts in Paris, though this institution was not intended especially for afflicted knights, but for three hundred of the blind poor of Paris. Saint Louis is credited also with having installed a few maimed soldiers as watchmen in fortresses, thus anticipating one of the favorite resources of our own day—public employment at easy work.

Provisions in France Since the Hundred Years War[1]

The Hundred Years War brought more misery, disease, and disablement from wounds, especially in unhappy France, on whose soil it was fought, and also internal disorder from undisciplined, marauding troops. As a protection against their depredations and as a necessary measure of relief, arrangements were made for receiving disabled or unoccupied old soldiers in monasteries and other shelters, reverting to an idea which is at

[1] The report made to the Chamber of Deputies by M. Pierre Masse, on behalf of the Commission on Civil and Military Pensions, July 21, 1916, begins with a review of the history of pensions in France from the time of the Capetians. M. Masse regrets that no study of the subject "d'une façon approfondie" has ever been made, for it would reveal, "sous un de leurs aspects les plus vivants, les rapports de nos institutions militaires avec notre état politique et social."

least as old as the time of Charlemagne. The abbots of the monasteries, naturally, were not eager to receive these boarders. Their previous career did not make them especially good candidates for the work of the monastery, and there was no natural relation between their dependence, caused by military service, and the resources at the disposal of the ecclesiastical authorities. The soldiers were equally dissatisfied. From their point of view freedom to live in their own way was preferable to assured comfort under the discipline of the monastery.

When Louis XIII later revived this system, after a period in which other methods had been tried, the old soldiers were allowed to choose between care in the monastery and a lump sum of a hundred pounds, which also had to be supplied by the monastery. Nearly all are said to have chosen the latter alternative. Richelieu, toward the end of the seventeenth century, confirmed this scheme of endowment of veterans, as it might be called, by the monasteries. The amount received was made to depend, not on the gravity of the injury which the soldier might have suffered, nor on the extent of his need or the length of his service, but on the income of the monastery.

Louis XI had inaugurated a service pension for discharged soldiers, sometimes in the form of a fixed annuity and sometimes a lump payment or a bit of land. Henry IV opened a home for the disabled, but it did not last. The year 1674 is a red-letter date in this history, for it witnessed the opening by Richelieu of the Hôtel des Invalides, which has stood for nearly two hundred and fifty years as the most conspicuous national institution for the care of those who have earned such national recognition. This magnificent palace in Paris was long accepted as the last word in kindly provision for disabled soldiers and was copied by all the leading countries of Europe. Within sixteen years the Invalides had become too small for its candidates, and arrangements were made to form outside companies under its patronage and care. In 1709 there was developed a vast tontine association, which included the merchant marine and the longshoremen—an early example of "war risk insurance," of which the culmination

is the American law under which soldiers and sailors of the present war are insured by the United States Government. As a result of needs developed or recognized in the Seven Years War, the administration of the Hôtel des Invalides recognized a third class of claimants, *viz.*, those who were to live neither in independent companies nor in the home itself, but with their own families, receiving an allowance from the institution.

Thus before the old régime came to an end many interesting experiments had been tried. Sully, Richelieu, and Colbert had all given personal attention to the financial aspects of the problem of pensions. All the motives which influence us in dealing with the same problem are apparent—compassion, recognition of service and of sacrifice, elementary justice, and social solidarity —though the first two are far more in evidence than the others.

At the end of the old régime four distinct plans were in operation for the relief of disabled or retired soldiers: (1) in exceptional instances, continuance of pay; (2) institutional care in the Hôtel des Invalides; (3) support and discipline in detached companies; (4) allowances or pensions to those who lived with their families. There was, however, no complete or comprehensive system, and this very fact is made the subject of complaint in the Cahiers of 1789. All the provisions combined failed to meet even the recognized needs. Widows and orphans, for example, to say nothing of other dependent relatives, were practically ignored.

Then came the Revolution, with its outburst of humane and democratic demands, many of which were crystallized into legislation. No other period, not even our own, has been so rich in innovations, so courageous in applying remedies, and provisions for soldiers and their dependents were among the subjects which received attention. The elementary fact that soldiers might have families was discovered; children must be not merely supported, but educated by the state; pensioners in the Invalides were to govern themselves and choose their own officers; the state interested itself in the problem of rent for the families of soldiers.

In the great European War in which France soon became involved, the nation, as today, took up arms. The regular army

with which for the most part kings and ministers had so far had to deal, gave place to a national army. All the young men, abandoning their ordinary pursuits, became soldiers. They were killed or wounded, as today, in appalling numbers. For the first time in the history of the nation the whole of the civil life of the nation was affected. War ceased to be the affair of a class, and became democratic, all-absorbing. To the military, political, and financial problems were added those which we call social.

In 1793 provision was made for allowances to families of soldiers, not unlike those which have been made by most of the belligerents in the present war. The law was remarkable for the large range of claimants recognized. Brothers and sisters, as well as parents, might receive assistance. A portion of the proceeds from the confiscated lands of the *émigrés* was used to provide for these pensions, which became constantly more liberal and more equitable. Distinctions of military rank were abolished; cumulative grants were made for wounds and for service with no fixed maximum; illegitimate children were put on the same basis as legitimate children. Within two years the Convention adopted seven consecutive pension laws, the general trend of the changes being always in the direction of broadening the number who might benefit, making the provisions more liberal, democratizing the scale, and voting new and larger credits.

Unfortunately the nation was not in a position to liquidate all the claims thus created or recognized. The Directory found it necessary to call a halt. Pensions were still assured, but for financial reasons the amounts were reduced and they were made non-cumulative. A definite schedule was adopted and arrangements were made for a careful examination of wounds. The legislation of the Directory, however, like that of the Convention, was liberal and democratic. Under the Empire the pension system was not formally modified, but arbitrary exceptions were made, and the whole administration, as might be expected, lost the fraternal character of Revolutionary days.

The political changes which occurred in the first third of the nineteenth century did not greatly affect the legislative system

which the Revolution had created and the Empire continued. Under Louis Philippe, however, pensions, like common schools and public roads, came in for sympathetic consideration by the legislature, as a particular manifestation of the liberal movement that was showing itself everywhere at this period, in North and South America and in Europe. It is interesting to recall that at the very time when France was passing the pension law which in September, 1918, is still in force, England was beginning the reform of her poor law which took shape three years later.

The comprehensive pension law of 1831 codified existing provisions and crystallized a theory which even the proposed pension legislation of 1918 does not radically change, although the four years of debate to which this scheme has been subjected have given abundant opportunity for the presentation of every alternative. The rates of payment, which are regulated by decree, have been increased from time to time, but the general basis of the law and its administration have remained since 1831 with no substantial modification.

The pension provided by the law of 1831 is essentially a retiring service pension, and it is intended primarily for a regular army. The amount varies with military rank, with the nature of the injury received, and in certain cases with the length of service. No account is taken of varying family needs or of the income of the pensioner in private life. Provision for pensions extends only to injuries which constitute a disability of 60 per cent. Supplementary provisions have been made as an act of grace for lesser disabilities and for those which are thought to be of a temporary character, but the pension as a right is limited to permanent disability of 60 per cent or more.

The law provides for a minimum and maximum pension, with a scale of twenty subdivisions, one for each year of service, between the minimum and the maximum. Disabled soldiers retired because of wounds or disease arising from the service are entitled to receive what is regarded as an anticipated retiring pension. For 100 per cent disability—which includes complete blindness or the loss of two limbs—the disabled soldier is entitled

to receive the maximum retiring allowance, plus 30 per cent in the case of a non-commissioned officer or soldier, 20 per cent in the case of a commissioned officer. For the amputation of one member, or the absolute loss of the use of two members, the claimant is entitled to the maximum retiring allowance. For the absolute loss of the use of one limb, or an equivalent injury, the rate varies according to the length of service, each year adding one-twentieth of the difference between the minimum and the maximum. Although the law itself does not provide for temporary disabilities through a pension, even when they are serious, a system of gratuities or temporary allowances renewable in two-year periods has been so far developed through administrative action as to have become, except in name, a definite part of the existing national system of care for disabled soldiers. A scale of gratuities was established by decree in March, 1915, extending by gradation from injuries of 10 per cent to those of 100 per cent, renewable in each case at the end of two years.

Gratuities, like pensions, were limited to those whose disabilities arose from actual service. Originally the law had provided only for disabilities which originated in service, but administratively the Conseil d'Etat has long admitted that a claim for a pension or a gratification is established if it can be shown that the injury or disease has been aggravated by the service. This, however, is often very difficult to show.

In 1831 the amount actually allowed to a common soldier for a disability of 60 per cent was 200 francs; for complete disability, 300 francs. The highest non-commissioned officer received double these amounts. As a result of successive changes, by 1879 the rates for the common soldier had been increased to 500 francs for a 60 per cent disability and for complete disability to 780 francs; for the highest non-commissioned officer, to 700 francs as a minimum and 1,170 francs as a maximum.

These were the rates in force at the outbreak of the present war, but when the legislature undertook the task of creating a new pension law which would meet present conditions they had

been increased, and ranged, for the common soldier, from 600 francs for the lowest degree of disability for which a pension was given, with an increase of 7½ francs for each year of service, to a maximum for complete disability of 975 francs, with the same addition for each year of service. The corresponding sums allowed to the highest non-commissioned officer were 1,100 francs, with an annual service increment of 15 francs, to 1,820 francs a year for total loss of sight or amputation of two limbs.

The gratuities, renewable in two-year periods, were of the same amounts as the pensions in the case of injuries equally grave. For injuries of less than 60 per cent they ranged from 100 francs to 500 francs for a common soldier, from 184 to 730 francs for the highest non-commissioned officer. In other words, an injury which was considered to amount to one-half of complete disability was rewarded by an annual pension of 500 francs a year, as compared with 975 francs for complete temporary disability. Gratuities were given in all cases for what was hoped would be temporary disability, in other words, for curable illness or injury; or, on the other hand, for permanent injuries amounting to less than 60 per cent disability. The former were renewable, the latter permanent; but neither was a legal right in the sense in which the pension was a legal right, and the pension was reserved for incurable illness or permanent injuries resulting from the service and amounting to 60 per cent disability.

Developments in England[1]

In England, as in France, the feudal lord had the earliest recognized obligation to look after disabled soldiers and the widows and orphans of those whose lives had been lost in his service. In England, as in France, the monasteries had to care for such as claimed their charitable assistance, and the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII no doubt threw the maimed soldiers and their other pensioners into great distress, which the state was compelled to recognize.

[1] A historical sketch is included in the article on Pensions, by Captain Basil Williams, in *Recalled to Life*, June, 1917.

Under Elizabeth both poverty and vagabondage were dealt with by a comprehensive poor law. Among those who are mentioned by a contemporaneous writer as fraudulent characters, soliciting alms, were the Whipiacke, *i.e.,* one who pretended to be a victim of shipwreck or of piracy, and the Ruffler, *i.e.,* an ex-soldier or serving-man.[1] Begging was at its height and the queen complained that she was "troubled" whenever she took the air "by these miserable creatures." As a part of the Elizabethan revision of the poor law, special provision was made for "maimed, hurt, or grievously sick" soldiers, but as the obligation to raise a rate for this purpose was laid on the counties, there was a tendency for each county to evade the duty and pass on its wounded soldiers to the next.

Supplementary laws were passed from time to time, including one of Charles II which permitted discharged soldiers to exercise a trade without completing their apprenticeship. Chelsea Hospital, whose charter was granted in 1681 and which was opened in 1692 in a building erected by Sir Christopher Wren, has had an even more prominent place in English pension administration than its model had in that of France. At first pensions were given to those who were on the waiting list for admission to the hospital. Soon it was found necessary, as in Paris, to recognize the out-pensioner as a distinct class, far more numerous than the in-pensioner.

In 1806 an act of Parliament assured a pension to invalided and disabled soldiers and to those who had served for fourteen or twenty-one years. Such pensions, however, like those from Chelsea Hospital earlier, were paid from a fund to which the soldiers had contributed from their regular pay. The pension rates were low, and the state had not yet adopted the idea that retired and disabled soldiers were entitled to a pension provided by the nation from taxation.

At the time of the Crimean War disability pensions for wounds and injuries received in action ranged from $5 to $15 a month (8 pence a day for partial disablement to 2 shillings for total

[1] Quoted by B. Kirkman Gray, in his *History of English Philanthropy.*

disablement). During the South African War the rates were increased somewhat and regular pensions for the first time (except for a brief period during the Commonwealth) were granted to widows and orphans of soldiers killed or dying in service. Prior to this gratuities and special funds had been available, and pensions had been given to surviving dependents of warrant officers. The pensions granted in 1901 ranged from 5 shillings to 10 shillings a week for widows, and from 1 shilling 6 pence to 2 shillings for each child, according to the rank of the man.

The Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, as it is now known, had originated at the time of the Crimean War, to meet the distress that was not provided for by the government. During the South African War it was made a corporation, and Parliament entrusted to it various funds raised for the benefit of soldiers' families. Private societies, such as the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association and the Soldiers and Sailors Help Society, had also been established to supplement state aid.

Generally speaking, the pension administration in Great Britain at the beginning of the great war in 1914 devolved upon the commissioners of Chelsea Hospital for the army and of Greenwich Hospital for the navy. Royal warrants and orders in council determined the rates to be paid, but the making of rules and policies were entrusted within very broad limits to the commissioners, one of whom was the Paymaster General of the nation. An act of Parliament of 1826 repealing the act of 1806 may be said to have finally established this system, and the administrative policy as to military pensions in England thus dates from a period five years earlier than the French law of 1831.

A Survey of European Provisions in 1862

Early in our Civil War the United States Sanitary Commission turned its attention to the future of the disabled soldiers. Learning that Mr. Stephen H. Perkins, a philanthropist of Boston, was planning to spend the winter abroad, they requested him, quite in our modern fashion, to inquire into the pension systems

and other methods in use by European countries. On certain principles (see below, page 36) the Commission appears to have been already agreed, but for the elaboration of a practical plan they felt the need of more information. Hence this request to Mr. Perkins, which he was asked to consider "as a clear call of Providence." "If this matter be left to politicians," says the president of the Commission in closing his letter of instructions, "or be hurried through Congress by busy men, it will want all profound merits. It will be sure to violate our American principles, to wound political economy, and to botch the whole idea. If, on the other hand, we can slowly mature a wise, ripe plan, it may become a germ of the utmost beneficence to the soldiers and to the nation."

Mr. Perkins accepted the mission and spent the winter of 1862-63 in Europe, visiting France, Prussia, Austria, and Italy, and securing information about Russia from Berlin by correspondence with the American Minister. He seems to have visited personally all the important institutions, to have talked with many officials and secured authentic statistics of population and of costs, to have kept his eyes open for defects and for features which might be applicable to America, and, in short, to have fulfilled his mission in a highly creditable manner.[1]

The ordinary pension for the common soldier he found to be 1 franc per day in France, 55 centimes in Italy, 5 kreutzers (about 2 cents) in Austria, and not much more, 12 thalers per year (about $8.64) in Prussia. The rates for officers were higher; so much so in Prussia and Austria that the pension system existed chiefly for their benefit and they received over four-fifths of the total amount disbursed. Mr. Perkins considered it "highly creditable to the French character" that since the minimum pension had been raised to a franc a day very few young men were willing to enter the Invalides; while by way of contrast Italy showed "great lack of judgment in making the con-

[1] His report is printed as Document No. 67 among the publications of the United States Sanitary Commission.

dition of the common soldier in hospital too attractive, and so stimulating the national fault of lack of independence and energy," so that the institutions were crowded.

The population of the Invalides at this time was about 2,000, almost all over sixty years of age. The annual cost per capita was over a thousand francs, and he figured that the average pension of the men who were then in the institution would have been about 548 francs. The excessive cost of maintaining the institution was due partly to the fact that it had been planned and equipped to accommodate 4,000, but also in part to "a great deal of useless expense." Similar disparity between the cost of institutional care and the pension rates was noticeable in the other countries, and was attributed to the fact that the laws establishing the two forms of relief had been made at different times and without relation to each other. As to the conduct of the institutions themselves, all that Mr. Perkins saw, and the testimony of all the officials with whom he conferred, emphasized the importance of providing regular occupation for the men. Because of idleness it was impossible to control drinking and other forms of dissipation.

The features which impressed Mr. Perkins as suitable for adaptation to American conditions were the Prussian system of *Civil-versorgung-scheins;* and the plan in vogue in Italy and in Prussia of dividing invalids into two classes, according to their fitness for stationary military duty, and allowing those who were fit for garrison duty to have the choice between that and a pension.

The *Civil-versorgung-scheins* were warrants entitling the holders to the first vacancies in certain subordinate branches of the civil service for which they might be qualified. On securing such a position the pension ceased. This system was obviously "very economical for the government." In Prussia, to be sure, Mr. Perkins observed, "it works a great evil, by building up a military caste among the lower orders of society, analogous to the one which exists among the upper classes," but he thought there

would be no danger of such a result in the United States, and there would be the positive advantage of removing a certain number of the civil service employes "from the corrupting influences of political changes." A further consideration in favor of this plan was that a very large number of the invalids of the Civil War would be young men and it was exceedingly important "that a variety of occupations should be offered to them, so that the different tastes and habits of the men may be suited, as far as possible, and the number of idle pensioners in the republic reduced to the utmost." No disabled soldier ought to be able to reproach his country with leaving him, inadequately pensioned, in the position of being obliged to compete in the open market with able-bodied men for the means of subsistence.

As a result of his investigations and reflection, Mr. Perkins outlined a plan for the United States, which included:

(1) A pension for every one permanently disabled, with three grades: a maximum rate, for injuries equivalent to the loss of two limbs; a medium rate, for injuries equivalent to the loss of one limb; and a minimum rate, for minor injuries.

(2) Provision for recruiting half the strength of garrisons from pensioners who were fit for stationary service.

(3) Preference to certain appointments in the civil service, within their own State.

(4) The establishment in every State by the national government of an "invalid industrial village," which should be under strict military rule and should be the residence of the pension agent of the State. Productive occupations would be established in each one and wages paid according to the value of each man's labor. All pensioners would have the right of admission to the village in their own State, and would have the choice of abandoning their pension and receiving free food and lodging or of retaining it and paying board. Any member of the colony would be free to leave at the end of a year and resume his pension, but if he did so he would not be eligible for readmission.

The United States

In the United States disability pensions have been the rule since the earliest days of the colonies.[1] The considerations

[1] Our chief source of information on American pensions, except as otherwise specified, is the *History of Military Pension Legislation in the United States*, by William Henry Glasson. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XII, No. 3 (1900).

prompting their adoption seem to have been practical rather than sentimental, emotion being reserved for the service pension measures enacted in each case many years after the close of the war to which they applied. In all our important military operations the bulk of the fighting forces has been made up of citizens called from the plow and the counter, and it has been necessary to reassure them in advance in order to persuade them to come and to keep them contented while in military service. Promises of financial assistance in case of injuries causing incapacity seem to have been given as a matter of course.

Plymouth Colony in 1636 enacted that any man sent forth against the Indians who returned maimed should be maintained competently by the colony during his life. Virginia made a similar provision in 1644, and other colonies as need arose. A comprehensive act of Rhode Island in 1718 promised in addition that wounds would be treated at the expense of the colony.

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War action was taken by several of the colonies. The first national law was passed on August 26, 1776, promising half pay for life in case of loss of a limb or disability sufficient to interfere with earning a living. The object of this was to encourage enlistment and it represented the sentiment of the Continental Congress, but unfortunately that body had no funds at its disposal, and the law amounted only to a recommendation to the States. Without reviewing all the difficulties of the period before the national government was established, it is sufficient to notice that the principle of pensions for disability was clearly recognized, and that the rate for total disability was half pay for commissioned officers and $5 a month for non-commissioned officers and enlisted men. Records for the early years are not complete, but it is thought that not more than two or three thousand Revolutionary soldiers were pensioned for disability before the law of 1818, conferring service pensions, removed the requirement of disability.

For the regular army and for the navy similar provisions were made at the beginning of the nation's history, the rate for pri-

vates being increased in 1816 from $5 to $8 per month. The expense for the navy from 1800 to 1842, and in part again since 1862, has been met from an interesting special fund made up of the government's share of money from the sale of prizes. The existing provisions for the regular army were extended to the volunteers in the War of 1812, to the soldiers engaged in the various wars with the western Indians, and they were again promised to volunteers in the Act declaring the existence of a state of war with Mexico.

At the outbreak of the Civil War the familiar promises were renewed: first to the 500,000 volunteers whom the President was authorized to raise by the act of July 22, 1861; a year later (July 14, 1862,) to the militia who had been called out by the proclamations of April 15 and May 3, 1861, and to all others who had incurred disability since March 4, 1861. The rates were what they had been for the soldiers of the regular army since 1816: for total disability $8 per month for privates, half pay for commissioned officers up to a maximum of $30 per month, with proportional fractions for partial disability.

By the act of July 4, 1864, a tariff was established for specified injuries. This was a novelty in pension legislation, though a very natural development. Rates were modified, always by increasing them, and new categories were added from time to time, and many absurdities and extravagances crept into the application of the principle. Since the "Dependent Pension Bill" of 1890, the mere possession of a disability not due to vicious habits by a man who had served ninety days in the Civil War has entitled him to a pension, without examination as to the origin of the disability. New applications on the ground of disability were still being granted thirty-five or forty years after the close of the war, in cases in which it would have been difficult, to say the least, to establish a causal relation.

To illustrate the development of the tariff: a man who lost both hands "in line of duty" was entitled to $8 per month by the

act of 1862; $25 after 1864; $31.25 after 1872; $50 after 1874; $72 after 1878; $100 since 1889.[1]

The total number of "invalids" on the rolls on June 30, 1917, was as follows:[2]

	Number of Pensioners	Annual Value of Pensions
Regular Establishment:		
Under general laws	15,224	$2,543,031.38
By special acts	478	111,216.00
Civil War: General Law:		
Under general law	22,430	7,998,357.00
By special acts	13,646	4,951,002.00
Civil War: Act of 1890	537	70,197.00
War with Spain:		
Under general laws	22,735	2,803,798.80
By special acts	1,325	254,856.00
Total	76,375	$18,732,458.18

The number of pensioners for disability was at its maximum in 1891, when there were 419,046 on the rolls on account of all wars. Since then the curve has decreased from year to year, with only a slight bulge after 1897 to take in the victims of the Spanish War, until now it has fallen to about the same number as there were at the close of the Civil War. The total amount which has been spent for disability pensions since 1860 is $2,754,974,108, which is even more, by about 20 per cent, than the enormous sum for service pensions in the same period. At the present time, however, the annual amount for service pensions is over four times the amount for disability pensions.[3]

Discussions of the Sanitary Commission, 1862-1864

The Civil War not only gave a great impetus to pension legislation but it also brought forth some very important consideration of the lot of disabled soldiers, and led to the adoption of

[1] A tabular view of the rates established for different injuries by successive laws, and a list of the rates fixed by administrative rulings for disabilities not specified in the laws, may be found in Publication No. 28, of the Federal Children's Bureau: *Government Provisions in the United States and Foreign Countries for Members of the Military Forces and their Dependents,* prepared under the direction of Captain S. Herbert Wolfe, Q.M., U.S.R.

[2] Report of the Commissioner of Pensions, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1917.

[3] See the two reports cited in footnotes 1 and 2.

supplementary forms of assistance. The United States Sanitary Commission gave the subject serious and intelligent attention, and has left on record discussions which do not sound antiquated even today.

The president of the Commission, Rev. Henry W. Bellows, in his letter of instructions to Mr. Perkins (see above, page 29), dated August 15, 1862,[1] states as follows the situation they were facing:

> The Sanitary Commission are much exercised with the subject of the future of the disabled soldiers of this war. They calculate that if it continue a year longer, not less than a hundred thousand men, of impaired vigor, maimed, or broken in body and spirit, will be thrown on the country. Add to this a tide of another hundred thousand men, demoralized for civil life by military habits, and it is easy to see what a trial to the order, industry, and security of society, and what a burden to its already strained resources, there is in store for it. It is, in our judgment, to the last degree important to begin now to create a public opinion which shall conduce to, or compel the adoption of, the wisest policy on the part of our municipal and town governments, in respect of disabled soldiers—so as to discourage all favor to mendicity, all allowance of any exceptional license to those who have been soldiers, all disposition for invalids to throw themselves, any further than is necessary, on the support and protection of society. You, who have paid so much attention to social science, know how easily loose, indulgent and destructive notions creep into communities, under the name and purpose of humanity, and what temptations of a sentimental kind there will be, to favor a policy which will undermine self-respect, self-support, and the true American pride of personal independence.

The Commission had already "excogitated" three guiding principles, *viz.*, that there should be:

> 1. As little outside interference with natural laws and self-respect as possible.
>
> 2. As much moral and other encouragement and strengthening of the natural reliances as possible.
>
> 3. The utmost endeavor to promote the healthy absorption of the invalid class into the homes, and into the ordinary industry of the country.

In opposition they foresaw "the rivalry and competition of States, in generosity to disabled soldiers; . . . the attempt to make political capital out of the sympathy of the public; . . . and, worst of all, a public disposition to treat this whole class as

[1] United States Sanitary Commission, Document No. 49.

a class with a right to be idle, or to beg, or to claim exemption from the ordinary rules of life."

In addition to the survey of European methods by Mr. Perkins, the Commission asked Dr. John Ordronaux, professor of Medical Jurisprudence in Columbia College, to prepare a Report on a System for the Economical Relief of Disabled Soldiers, which he presented in 1864.[1] He incorporates Mr. Perkins's suggestions, with some modifications and elaborations, and adds several new features. He warns against copying blindly the "wise and doubtless well considered systems" of Europe, for, as those who have read the admirable reports of Mr. Perkins "can not have failed to perceive, nor refuse to admit," there is nothing in them "which can be adopted here without thorough and radical alteration. They are designed to meet the wants of a different people from our own; are based upon a much lower scale of habitual personal expenditure; are conceived in a spirit of predominant caste privilege, and bear none of that impress of sympathy with the masses, which should be the overshadowing element in the legislation of all republican forms of government."

This report deserves quotation, because of its excellent statement of considerations and principles, representing probably the best thought of the day, which in many respects we have not yet improved upon.

As to the fundamental theory of the responsibility of society for the disabled soldier, Dr. Ordronaux says:

> We would not call him an object of charity, so much as a creditor of society for a permanent benefit conferred upon it; and it is the duty of the community so benefited, while recognizing the claim, to do justice as well to itself as to him. If he be a man, and can work, he will neither ask nor expect to be supported in idleness. If he be indolent and unthrifty, it is the duty of society not to encourage this disposition by entirely supporting him,

[1] For some reason this seems not to have been printed as a Document of the Sanitary Commission, nor does Mr. Bellows refer to it in his own report on the subject which he made to the Standing Committee of the Commission the following year. It was printed in New York, in 1864, as a pamphlet, under the title of *A Report to the United States Sanitary Commission on a System for the Economical Relief of Disabled Soldiers.*

but giving him only so much as will insure his daily bread, leaving his other wants to be provided for by his own efforts. In this way he is saved the danger of falling into entire apathy or indifference as to his own position, and becoming a legalized, non-producing beneficiary.

Constitutional and diathetic diseases—such as phthisis, chronic rheumatism, "paludal intoxication in its multiple forms," paralysis, and the sequences of typhoid—are a more formidable obstacle to physical ability, it is pointed out, and a more prolific source of invalidism, than simple mutilation. For invalids of this class, however, in the existing state of medical knowledge, provision was comparatively simple. Hospitals will be needed for them for four or five years after the close of the war, but that is the only suggestion that is made in their behalf. "They are passing to the grave—surely, irrevocably—and the duty we owe them is to make that passage as smooth and comfortable as possible."

It is the larger class, of men not completely disabled, but unable to work under ordinary conditions, "for whom we shall be compelled to provide means and methods of industrial activity suited to their individual powers," which receives the largest part of the discussion. In harmony with what the president of the Sanitary Commission had written to Mr. Perkins, Dr. Ordronaux considers it fundamental that no measures should be adopted which would tend to set the disabled soldiers apart as a distinct class:

> Their numbers promising to be extensive, all idea of disposing of them by any single plan, such as creating large, industrial institutions, or colonizing them in one locality, becomes preposterous and mischievous. To do this would convert them at once into an exceptional class—an ever-present cause of apprehension in any community. . . . It is true that, in this instance, the qualifications of public service, and the physical suffering entailed by it, would purge the class of invalids of the worst features of exceptionalism. Still, as a principle, the doctrine of large associations of this kind should not be fostered. It is bad on many accounts; bad because it segregates men from the contact, and influence, and control of public sentiment; bad because it collects them in masses, having no diversified motives to inspire or direct their activities, and bad because the prevailing sentiment of such a community (the sentiment of exceptionalism) becomes intensified by the numbers repre-

senting it. . . . The interests both of the country, as well as of the invalids themselves, and of their posterity, demand that they should be disposed of in some other and more practically beneficial way. They were component parts of our communities before they entered the public service—they should resume those places and be redistributed throughout them on retiring from it. This is the opinion which reason, humanity and morality alike conspire to arrive at, and to prove whose soundness very little argument need be adduced.

After this introduction Dr. Ordronaux outlines his recommendations in nine "propositions," as follows:

"Proposition First: Every measure tending to fuse invalids into a class, with particular privileges or immunities, should be discountenanced. Nor should any such accumulations of them be encouraged in any locality, as would render them independent of public opinion, or segregate them from friends or kindred." As citizens they "still have burthens to bear as well as privileges to enjoy, in common with the rest."

"Proposition Second: As far as possible, invalids should be restored to their original homes, and the communities to which they belong should absorb them, by assigning to them, by conventional agreement, the lighter occupations; and no provision separating them from their families, or diminishing their domestic responsibilities, should be encouraged. For, wherever invalids have homes, public opinion should be directed to these as the best places for them, the object always being to keep them from ultimately drifting into town or county pauper asylums. . . . A man is only so far a man as he is identified actively with the movement of his race; and while drones and laggards may wear the outward form of manhood, it is very certain that they belong only to its lowest expression. . . . Except those completely blind, or who have lost both arms, no man among us need starve for want of something to do. . . . Let public sentiment be so educated as to surrender the lighter occupations into the hands of disabled soldiers by common consent. . . . Let it be settled that the well-qualified invalid has a right to these employments, that it is dishonorable in a sound man to compete with him for their possession, and the disparity in manual strength ceases to have any weight." Such a public sentiment would render legislative interference unnecessary; and it is in fact a serious question whether any legislature would have a right to interfere, except as it might do so in prescribing qualifications for public officers. Undoubtedly, however, there would not be many employers who would fail to comply with an established public opinion. To create this, it is suggested that public meetings be held to discuss the plan, and that associations be formed of employers who agree to conform. Invalids should be taken on gradually, as vacancies occur, not in any way which would "disrupt the established order of things."

"Proposition Third: National military homes or asylums should be created, which should be semi-industrial; on entering them the invalid should relinquish his pension, if a private soldier; or, if an officer, then so much

of it as would be an equivalent for his board." These institutions should be only for those who have no homes or whose home is with relatives unable to support them or to supply them with such care as their condition requires.

"Proposition Fourth: Could not the public lands enable us to form invalid battalions, or districts of military agriculturists, throughout the great West? In the event of a monarchy being permanently reestablished in Mexico, would it be advisable to organize a military frontier?" This seems to have been suggested by the military colonies of Russia and Austria, dating from the time of Peter the Great, and designed to protect the frontier against invasion by Turks and Tartars, and incidentally to people waste districts, foster agriculture, maintain the army cheaply in time of peace, and supply customs and quarantine officers.

"Proposition Fifth: In the construction and service of the Pacific Railroad, what parts could be assigned to invalid soldiers—*e.g.*, overseers, switchmen, flagmen, telegraph operators, station and freight agents, clerks, conductors, engineers, firemen, etc., etc.?"

"Proposition Sixth: Are invalid villages practicable, where the results of accumulated and combined labor shall be annually distributed among the families constituting them, according to the amount of work performed by their members?"

This suggestion, like the fourth, may seem to lose sight of the primary consideration with which Dr. Ordronaux started out, but it is noticeable that they are both made tentatively, and apparently under the pressure of conviction that it is important to offer as great a variety of opportunities as possible. "With an intelligent and adventurous population like ours to operate with," the experiment of such villages is thought to be "certainly well worth trying."

"Proposition Seventh: Is the Prussian *Versorgung-schein*—or privilege to fill vacancies occurring in subordinate government offices, on surrendering the pension already held—practicable with us? It being understood that the incumbency shall be for life, or during good behavior." As to this, "there seems no good reason why offices which are now given as rewards to partisans should not hereafter be given to those who, instead of a claim upon a political party only, have one upon the whole country." Preference should be given to the oldest among the invalids, "as well in justice to them as to their successors."

"Proposition Eighth: A Soldiers' Industrial Exchange should be established in every large city, the object and purposes of which should be to furnish facilities for such of them as may be able to work, to become acquainted with those who need their labor." These exchanges should be under federal control, and there should be one in connection with every pension agency.

"Proposition Ninth: Could not a Sedentary Corps be established from invalids, and with which forts could be garrisoned, and all the lighter duties of military life be performed?" The Invalid Corps which had recently been formed by the War Department did not meet this suggestion, because it included drafted men found unfit for service, and enlistment in it was for only three years. The contemplated organization should be permanent; enlistment in it should be renewable; it should be for pensioned disabled soldiers who prefer a military to a civil life; pensions would be relinquished on admission to the corps, since members would draw pay and rations, and might be resumed at the end of a term of service or on honorable discharge at any time.

What may be regarded as the official opinion of the Sanitary Commission is found in the report made by its executive secretary, the Rev. Henry W. Bellows, to the Standing Committee of the Commission, under date of December 15, 1865.[1]

By way of preface he refers to the mission of Mr. Perkins, "one of our most intelligent students into social questions," and reviews the considerations which he had expressed in his letter to that gentleman:

It seemed to me, even then, that the young and vigorous civilization of America, with the respect for labor and the habits of personal self-reliance prevailing among us, and the open opportunities of the new country, would prevent the question of provision for our sick and wounded soldiers from ever becoming one of very urgent and burdensome character; that the experience of countries with a long past, very settled social distinctions, and a thick and crowded population, where labor was cheap and poverty common, would afford little that was instructive to us, except in the way of contrast; that the splendor of the names of certain military and naval asylums abroad, the Hôtel des Invalides, the hospitals in Vienna, Naples, and Berlin, the hospitals at Chelsea and Greenwich, were likely to stimulate our national and State pride to attempt some similar institutions really not needed, while the lively sympathy of the people, grateful toward the wounded and disabled heroes of the war, might, when inflamed by local rivalries in this popular kind of benevolence, multiply very injuriously as well as needlessly the refuges and charities for our returned soldiers. It seemed to us, that our pride, as a democratic nation, ought to point just in the other direction—*i.e.*, toward such a shaping of public opinion as would tend to reduce dependence among our returned soldiers to the lowest possible point; to quicken the local and family sense of responsibility, so as to make each neighbor and each household, out of which a soldier had gone, and returned helpless and dependent, feel itself privileged and bound to take care of him; to weaken

[1] United States Sanitary Commission, Document No. 95.

all disposition toward eleemosynary support; to encourage every community to do its utmost toward favoring the employment of returned soldiers, and especially partially disabled ones in light occupations; to make mendicancy and public support disreputable for all with any ability, however partial, to help themselves; to prevent the public mind from settling into European notions in regard to military asylums; especially to guard the subject from artificial excitement which political and medical aspirants to place and power might strive to communicate to it, and to keep it as far as might be from State rivalries, party emulation and civic ambition. In short, we desired to favor in every way the proud and beneficent tendency of our vigorous American civilization, to heal its wounds by the first intention; to absorb the sick and wounded men into its ordinary life, providing for them through those domestic and neighborly sympathies, that local watchfulness and furtherance due to the weakness and wants of men well known to their fellow citizens, and which is given without pride and received without humiliation; and this source of relief failing, then from the ordinary charities of the towns and counties from which they had sprung.

Mr. Perkins's report, he thinks, shows conclusively that "foreign experience, as we foresaw, chiefly teaches us what is to be avoided."

Their pension systems, France excepted, are wholly inadequate even to the wants of the cheap countries of Europe, driving the disabled into asylums, and would be absurdly deficient in America; . . . their great asylums . . . are costly failures, . . . everywhere creating ennui, drunkenness, and discontent. Since these reports, Chelsea and Greenwich Hospitals . . . have resolved, as rapidly as possible, to scatter on pensions their dependents, and in so doing have, in our judgment, settled forever the inexpediency of creating military or naval asylums.

That there was good reason to count on the self-reliance of the American disposition had already been demonstrated by experiences during the war. The independent spirit of the soldiers was shown in their haste to leave the hospitals—their "anxiety to get away from the abundant and benignant care of the government," as Mr. Bellows puts it. To be sure, this often led to premature escape from medical care, with the result that many "have died on our hands," in the temporary homes which had been established by the Commission to aid soldiers in transit. Whatever its disadvantages, however, "it is obvious enough that such a spirit as this, though it may kill its proud exhibitors, will not leave any willing dependents on the public bounty!"

At first there had been some mendicancy in the large cities. Soldiers on their way home, stranded without money or friends in the early days of the war, before means for helping them had been organized, naturally resorted to begging. The "spectacle of numerous invalids, weak and feeble," on streets and in the cars and other public places, had "greatly inflamed" the public imagination, and "numerous and piteous appeals were made for creating asylums and homes for a great army of sick and disabled soldiers. As the piteous sights disappeared from the streets —probably because of the measures organized by the Sanitary Commission and others to help discharged soldiers in getting back home—the public disposition changed and the craze for institutions abated. The soldiers themselves, moreover, showed little inclination to avail themselves of the opportunities for institutional care which were offered. The Home at Columbus, Ohio, for example, had had only 130 applications. Mr. Bellows thought that it could safely be predicted that "very few of the hundred schemes that have been brewing in the hearts of privileged philanthropists or of public legislators will survive a twelvemonth of this uniform public experience."

One of the "hundred schemes" that had been "brewing" may be noticed as an illustration of the popular feeling while the passion for institutions was at its height. A "Great Mass Meeting" was held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on November 4, 1863, in inauguration of General Josiah Perham's enterprise in aid of founding a "national home for our war-worn invalid and disabled veterans."[1] General Perham's plan was to sell 100,000 tickets at $1 each, for the privilege of viewing "a work of art" called "The Mirror of the Rebellion," and to place *half* the *profits* in the hands of trustees empowered to add to the fund. More than 25,000 tickets had already been sold, and resolutions encouraging the project were introduced by John Hancock. Some prominent names are among the trustees, but Edward Everett, of Boston, Peter Cooper and Hamilton Fish, of New

[1] Pamphlet of Proceedings in the Boston Public Library.

York, had "declined to serve." In his eloquent address at the meeting General Perham said, in part:

> Let the clergy throughout the land take up contributions in their respective churches and Sabbath schools, let the rich man be sought for a donation commensurate with his means, and let the poor man give his mite. Let Congress be petitioned for such legislation as may be necessary in the prosecution of this great enterprise, and for such appropriation of moneys as may be needed to complete the work which your money began. . . . Should Congress deem it unwise to make such appropriations, a dilemma I do not anticipate, then let the several States be called upon. . . . Failing here, let the people be called upon in their private capacity. . . . The United States must have a home for its national defenders. The poor soldier, broken in health, or maimed in a service so glorious as the maintenance of the best government on earth, should not return to be the object of capricious common charity; he should have a nation's gratitude, a nation's care, a place in the nation's household, a seat by the nation's fireside.

To verify their impressions that there was very little demand for soldiers' homes, the Commission had sent out a circular letter to twenty-seven of their representatives and other well informed persons in the chief centers of the country, and had received answers from most of them. From these reports it was evident that the number of sick and disabled needing public care was "exceedingly small compared either with the size of our armies or the expectation of the public," and that this was true not because there were not many disabled soldiers in the country, but because they were "the objects of a proud and tender domestic or neighborly care, and withdrawn from public view, as it is desirable they should be."

Mr. Bellows estimated that there might be 2,000 in the whole country for whom it was desirable that accommodations in a home, at least for a short period, should be provided, but that "not 2 per cent" of these were native Americans, three-fourths being Irish, and 15 to 20 per cent German. The West had been most eager in proposing asylums, but had much less need for them than the East. The largest number needing help were in Philadelphia, because of its vicinity to Washington and because it was the seat of large military hospitals. Double the number

of applications, however, might be expected in New York, which "is the natural home of the most skilful and successful beggary." This 2,000 would rapidly decrease with the passage of a few years. Some would die, but more would tire of institutional life and find some way to establish themselves with friends or relatives. There was no need, Mr. Bellows thought, to urge provision for permanent homes, "as it appears certain to be overdone without any additional stimulus." What was important was to insure "prompt temporary provision" for the whole 2,000; just how, he does not specify.

The reports indicated that disabled men were having little difficulty in finding work. The general disposition of men in the Veteran Reserve Corps to seek discharge, as 90 per cent had done, was regarded as evidence of the abundance of opportunities open to them in civil life. Many one-armed men had found employment as messengers, "it is pleasant to state," and systematic efforts were on foot in Boston and New York to establish for their benefit the foreign system of commissionaires.

It was "a special satisfaction" to find that the number disabled by blindness was very small, and also that the "idiotic," by which was meant the insane, "turn out much less than was feared from the terrible effect which rebel prisons had, at least temporarily, upon the brains of our weaker-minded men."

In view of all these considerations the recommendation of Mr. Bellows is the prompt payment of pensions and a more generous scale: "We believe the pension system is the proper substitute for military asylums." It is "more humane, more economical for the country and more favorable to the temper and spirit of our people." A pension large enough to live on should be provided by the government, and the men should then be "suffered to go where they please, and look up their own residence and their own protectors." A pension, moreover, is the only way to reach the worst suffering of all, which is in the families of disabled men who will make no appeal for help to the public. The fertile suggestions made by Dr. Ordronaux are not discussed.

Supplementary Forms of Assistance

As a result of the interest aroused at this period, several subsidiary methods of assisting disabled soldiers, in addition to pensions, came into use in the United States, some of which show the influence of the discussions we have reviewed.

By a joint resolution of the two houses of Congress on March 3, 1865, the Prussian plan of preference in appointment to positions in the civil service was established, omitting, however, the feature of surrender of the pension upon receiving a position.

> Persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty shall be preferred for appointments to civil offices, provided they are found to possess the business capacity necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of such office.

This has been construed by the Attorney General to mean that disabled soldiers and sailors are not exempt from liability to examination for admission into civil service, but that they are entitled to a preference for appointments as against other persons of equal qualifications for the place. A decision by the Supreme Court, moreover (Keim *vs.* U. S., 1900, 177 U. S., 290), states that

> These sections do not contemplate the retention in office of a clerk who is inefficient, nor attempt to transfer the power of determining the question of efficiency from the heads of the departments to the courts. . . . The preference, and it is only a preference, is to be exercised as between those "equally qualified."

The prediction that there would be no need to stimulate the founding of institutions has been justified. The National Soldiers' Home in Washington, which had been established in 1851, now has ten branches—in Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, South Dakota, California, Kansas, Tennessee, Virginia and Maine—and there are some thirty institutions under State auspices, receiving per capita subsidies from the federal government. On June 30, 1917, there were 17,973 inmates in the national homes. This number would have been a cruel disappointment

to the Sanitary Commission, which did not contemplate the necessity for providing for those whose only disability was old age. It is at least open to speculation whether most of these old soldiers might not have enjoyed more normal surroundings in their old age if there had been less lavish provision of institutional accommodations.

A third form of assistance given by the government since the Civil War is artificial limbs. A soldier or sailor who has lost a leg or an arm or the use of a leg or an arm is entitled to an artificial limb or apparatus every three years, with transportation to and from the place where he selects it. Since 1870 commutation has been allowed for those who prefer money to the appliance: $75 for a leg, $50 for an arm, or for apparatus for either a leg or an arm. Commutation is overwhelmingly the preference. In 1913, for example, the Surgeon General reports that 17 legs and 1 foot were supplied, while commutation certificates were issued for 155 cases of amputated legs, 92 of amputated arms, 7 of amputated feet, and 1.667 of loss of use of a limb—nearly 2,000 in all.

Private philanthropy during the Civil War concerned itself very actively with the needs of discharged soldiers. The Sanitary Commission's Department of Special Relief, which dealt "mainly with the waifs and estrays of the army," relieving the individual soldier when "temporarily out of connection with the military system," must have given much temporary help, in one way or another, to disabled soldiers on their way home. One of the objects of the temporary shelters established by the Commission was to secure railroad tickets at reduced rates for disabled soldiers, and by posting agents at the railroad stations to protect them from robbers and "sharpers." Accommodations for women relatives were frequently provided by the Commission near the great military hospitals. As far as disabled men were concerned, the help given probably consisted chiefly of temporary comforts and transportation.

Some of the societies raised money by exhibitions of "left-

hand writing" by soldiers who had lost the right arm, but this does not mean necessarily that much was done in the way of "reeducation." Two posters advertising such exhibits have been preserved in the Boston Public Library. One of them, apparently from Washington, reads:

DISABLED, BUT NOT DISHEARTENED

THE LEFT-HAND CORPS AGAIN IN THE FIELD!

GRAND EXHIBITION

OF

LEFT-HAND

PENMANSHIP!

BY SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

WHO HAVE LOST THEIR RIGHT ARMS DURING THE WAR

OPEN DAY AND EVENING

COMMENCING

TUESDAY MAY 1

AT SEATON HALL

CORNER OF NINTH AND D STREETS

TICKETS, 25 CENTS

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' UNION, FOR THE BENEFIT OF DISABLED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS AND THEIR FAMILIES

The other poster comes from New York, and the Committee of Award includes some well known names:

WILL CLOSE

THURSDAY, MAR. 1, AT NOON

$1,000 IN PRIZES

GRAND EXHIBITION

OF

LEFT-HAND WRITING!

BY

DISABLED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

WHO HAVE LOST THEIR RIGHT ARMS DURING THE WAR

NOW OPEN

AT

954 BROADWAY

CORNER OF TWENTY-THIRD STREET, N. Y.

COMMITTEE OF AWARD

HIS EXCELLENCY, R. E. FENTON, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

REV. H. W. BELLOWS, PRES. U. S. SANITARY COMMISSION

WM. CULLEN BRYANT, ESQ. GEO. WM. CURTIS, ESQ.

WM. E. DODGE, JR. HOWARD POTTER, ESQ.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, ESQ.

PROCEEDS FOR THE BENEFIT OF DISABLED

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

TICKETS, 25 CENTS CHILDREN, 15 CENTS

CHAPTER III

Disabled Men in Civil Life

It might be expected that, even though comparatively little attention has been given to intelligent provision for disabled soldiers, there would still be a long and fruitful experience on which we might draw in this emergency, in work which has been done for civilians suffering from similar disabilities. Every day, in the ordinary routine of life, men are maimed and blinded and disabled by illness. In all essentials, except the aura of military glory, they are in the same situation as men who are disabled in battle. Experience in meeting their needs should be suggestive in making plans for disabled soldiers and sailors.

When we examine that experience, however, we are obliged to realize that very little serious attention has hitherto been given to the social and economic problems of disabled men. More has been done for physically handicapped children, though even that is far from adequate; but experience with children and those who have been crippled or blind from birth has a very limited application in dealing with a man who has suddenly lost a leg or an arm or his sight or hearing, because his whole background, his psychology and his education, are entirely different, and the "prognosis" for his economic future is therefore equally different.

Few persons are wholly able-bodied and able-minded. The industrial and the intellectual work of the world is done by human beings who suffer more or less from eye-strain, headaches, indigestion, deafness, bronchial affections, flat-foot, or some of the other numerous limitations to which we are subject. Even in recruiting an army physical perfection can not be required, but only a relative degree of freedom from those defects and diseases which especially interfere with the service to be performed.

Freedom from illness and physical defect is not of itself a very high ideal of health. What is desirable is strength and endurance and skill. What is even more desirable is resourcefulness, and adequate motive, and will power. Negatively the health ideal demands the untrammeled functioning of the bodily organs, including the brain. Affirmatively, it assumes their full development and exercise, a directing will which overcomes or ignores minor limitations and overcomes or circumvents even serious physical defects. Victor Hugo's thrilling account of what one unaided toiler of the sea could accomplish in overcoming the hardest conditions imposed by nature is frequently matched in real life. Trudeau, carrying on for over thirty years in the Adirondacks his unequal fight for existence, while at the same time securing life and health for hundreds of his similarly affected comrades, is only an extreme, a heroic example of what is done daily by unnamed heroes of civil life.

The fundamental reliance must be on the individual, not isolated as on Hugo's rock—ordinarily not even as nearly so as Trudeau, surrounded by his patients and a few friends and professional colleagues—but placed in his social relations, with the support of family, of occupation, of all kinds of economic and social bonds, and with the incentives which such bonds give to overcome his handicaps, whatever they may be. This fundamental reliance remains on the individual even when it is a question of developing or regaining economic usefulness after a disabling illness or injury. Our new compensation laws rightly place as much as possible of the responsibility on industry; but it is the financial part principally that can be so placed. Very feebly and tentatively society has begun to recognize some collective responsibility for training for new occupations or retraining for old ones when disabling disease or accident has made it necessary. But neither employer nor the state can do more than supplement what the invalid or cripple is determined to do for himself. The ambition and will of the individual are the key to the situation. The friend who can awaken the one

and strengthen the other, the industry which can give a reasonable chance for them to operate, the state which can by furnishing educational facilities or facilities for placement supplement the efforts of the victim of accident or disease to regain his position, deserve recognition as useful allies; but all combined they are ordinarily negligible as compared with the will to overcome which even the most frail and the most battered wreck of humanity may sometimes show.

The Deaf

Among those who are physically handicapped, the deaf have perhaps exhibited the greatest capacity for independent self-recovery. Their infirmity is less obvious than blindness or lameness, but it is exceedingly serious. Not to hear human speech, or the multitude of sounds which guide the hearing man—more or less unconsciously—in his going and coming and in his ordinary occupations, and which keep him in touch with the currents of life—this might well seem to be a handicap which would reduce the average person to an inferior position in the economic scale. Yet it appears that on the whole the deaf in civil life are not a burden on the community; that they are wage earners and producers of income in a degree which compares well with the general population; that in many occupations their infirmity is of very slight disadvantage; that on the whole the deaf hold themselves on an economic equality with their fellows and ask no alms or favors.[1] These generalizations apply to America rather more than to Europe, and they might not remain true if the number of the deaf suddenly were to be greatly increased by the war. On the other hand, those who become deaf in adult life after having had speech and hearing from infancy will ordinarily overcome their drawback even more easily than those who begin life as deaf-mutes.

It is the excellent special schools for the deaf, and the very general advantage of vocational training which they provide—

[1] Harry Best: *The Deaf*, page 90.

an advantage even if the particular vocation is not afterward followed—and the fact that loss of hearing is comparatively rare in youth, that explain the favorable showing made by the deaf in the economic life of the nation.

Even beyond this education and training, however, we must seek in the individual deaf man himself the explanation of his success. He feels that because of his infirmity he must be more careful, more saving, more industrious, more efficient, than his hearing neighbor. No doubt the deaf exhibit every sort of weakness and perversity that is to be found among others. They are often sensitive and suspicious. But on the average they find in the sympathy which others feel for them, and in the necessity which fate has imposed upon them, an exceptional motive for putting forth their best effort. Thus they find work or make a place for themselves; they earn a living or a competence; they rise to positions of influence and responsibility. They justify the special training which society gives when necessary, and become burdens on society ordinarily only when some other infirmity, such as old age or illness, is joined to their deafness, which in the majority of cases might have led to the dependence even if hearing had been normal.

Lip-reading and vocal speech, although known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have become the common possession of the great body of deaf-mutes only within the present generation. On account of the prestige of the Abbé l'Epée, the founder (in 1775) of the first regular school for the deaf in which the sign language was used, and because it is easier to teach and to learn the sign language, this more complete restoration to society was rarely realized for a century after its practicability had been demonstrated. The Abbé l'Epée himself, however, said that "the deaf-mute is completely restored to society only when he has been taught to express himself in audible speech and to read from the lips."[1]

[1] Dr. Chavanne, of Lyons, at the first Inter-Allied Conference, Paris, 1917.

The Blind

Blindness seems like a more serious affliction than deafness, and in fact it does more narrowly restrict the number of possible occupations. As a consequence it creates more often a need for reeducation, and it is necessary in a larger proportion of instances to provide some kind of permanent employment in which there will be a certain degree of protection, even though, given such kindly protection, the beneficiaries may be entirely self-supporting and may even contribute to the support of others. Chair caning, typewriting, and the making of brooms, rugs and baskets, are among the more usual occupations in shops of this kind. Of course, many distinguished musicians, poets, journalists, preachers, have had the misfortune of blindness to overcome, and at the other end of the scale, it must be admitted that the blind beggar has been a far too common spectacle. That it is by no means impossible for the blind to be usefully employed is not a recent discovery. The Spanish scholar Vivès, in his treatise *Concerning the Relief of the Poor,* addressed to the Senate of Bruges in 1526,[1] makes no exception of the blind in his scheme for banishing mendicancy and transforming the character of the charitable institutions:

> Nor would I allow the blind either to sit idle or to wander around in idleness. There are a great many things at which they may employ themselves. Some are suited to letters; let them study, for in some of them we see an aptitude for learning by no means to be despised. Others are suited to the art of music; let them sing, pluck the lute, blow the flute. Let others turn wheels and work the tread-mills; tread the wine-presses; blow the bellows in the smithies. We know the blind can make little boxes and chests, fruit baskets and cages. Let the blind women spin and wind yarn. Let them not be willing to sit idle and seek to avoid work; it is easy enough to find employment for them. Laziness and a love of ease are the reasons for their pretending they can not do anything, not feebleness of body.

The Braille point system of embossed printing, invented in the first half of the nineteenth century by a French teacher who had himself been blind from infancy, served to restore to large num-

[1] Studies in Social Work, No. 11. Published by the New York School of Philanthropy.

bers of the blind a contact with recorded ideas which may be compared in importance with the service of lip-reading in restoring to the deaf the privilege of a direct exchange of ideas with their contemporaries.

William the Conqueror in the eleventh century, Saint Louis in the thirteenth, and exceptional individuals of lesser renown from time to time, founded institutions or made bequests for the benefit of the blind, but it was not until near the end of the eighteenth century that their necessities were considered sufficiently to insure anything like general provision for them. The important experiments which had been made in educating the blind were confined, as in the case of the deaf, to privileged individuals of wealth and station. In 1790 a school was started in Liverpool, providing general instruction and also industrial training. In this school much the same occupations were taught as at present. Within a decade two others were established, in Bristol and in London. A few years earlier Valentin Haüy had organized his "philanthropic society," which undertook the education of twelve young persons, at a cost for each of twelve livres a month.

This son of Picardy, it is related, first had his indignation and sympathy aroused on behalf of the blind by witnessing "in a public garden eight or ten blind mendicants, with spectacles on their noses, standing before racks on which music was displayed, and executing a discordant symphony which seemed to excite the hilarity of the passers-by." He asked himself whether it would not be possible to do something different, and in spite of his own meager resources this idea gradually took shape. Nine years afterward he undertook to meet the expense of the education of François Le Sueur, who in turn became his colleague in the Société Philanthropique. This work developed during the Revolution, and later Haüy founded similar institutions in Berlin and St. Petersburg.

The National Convention, recognizing that in destroying certain "monstrous institutions" of the old régime the Republic

incurred the obligation of substituting salutary establishments, in which "virtue need not blush" and "where the rights of humanity and of equality should not be ignored," declared that it had considered all the indigent infirm of the Republic and had assumed a sacred engagement to assuage their sufferings; but that among all these unfortunates the indigent blind had especially seemed worthy of attention.

Throughout the nineteenth century increasing attention has naturally been given to the instruction of the blind, to the organization of industrial homes for those who need institutional care, and more recently to the giving of aid to self-support in their own homes, with their own families. Far more emphasis has been laid of late, however, on the prevention of blindness. It has been discovered that congenital blindness is ordinarily due to infection at birth, and that this can be prevented easily by simple precautions. Industrial accidents resulting in blindness can also be avoided by suitable safeguards. The increasing use of appropriate glasses to prevent eye-strain, and the advance of ophthalmology, resulting in the more successful treatment of eye diseases, should eventually reduce the number of cases of blindness arising in civil life.

The blind, like the deaf, constantly exhibit extraordinary capacity in winning their own way in spite of their handicap. The best service society can render them is to strengthen their self-confidence, to utilize every contribution they are capable of making, and to regard them at all times as entitled to complete self-respect, based not only on self-support but on a reasonable contribution to the welfare of others.

The Tuberculous

The widespread and well organized campaign for the prevention of tuberculosis has naturally involved some consideration of the economic usefulness of those who suffer from this disease, often prolonged through many months and even years. The patient whose disease is cured or arrested may still be limited in

the range of his occupations and in the amount of fatigue and exposure which he may safely undergo. Unfortunately a large proportion of workers who have this disease do not find it out in the early stages, and by continuing their regular work they shorten their lives unnecessarily, and shorten even more the period in which they might, with proper advice and care, continue to be usefully employed.

Many experiments have been made in the direction of light outdoor employment for patients discharged from sanatoria, but it can not be said that they have been conspicuously successful. That an outdoor life is preferable to the office or factory; that occupations which are dust producing, or which require a stooping posture or severely exhausting strain of any kind, are especially dangerous for one who has had tuberculosis; that vocational guidance by a competent physician is advantageous—are axiomatic. Sanatorium and dispensary and instructive nursing have undoubtedly added a few years to the average effective working life of large numbers of those who have tuberculosis and whose infection is discovered at a sufficiently early stage. The self-denial which the tuberculous are perhaps most often called upon to make is that which consists in sacrificing an income temporarily in order to be cured for a longer period of comparative health and working efficiency afterward, even if this involves accepting aid from relatives or from the public. "The best occupation for a sick man is to get well," and, unlike the deaf and the blind, the tuberculous are not defective, but ill, and their program requires to be modified accordingly. The main element in the restoration of the great body of the tuberculous to their greatest economic usefulness lies, therefore, in the crusade for the prevention of infection, for early diagnosis, for prompt medical and nursing care, for education both as to their own personal hygiene and as to the care of the other members of their families; and those who themselves have, or have had, the disease are the most valiant of all crusaders.

Cripples

Of the handicapped in civil life it is the cripples who have been most neglected, although they are by far the most numerous.[1] They are less obviously helpless than the blind and the deaf-mute, and have not made so strong an appeal to the kind of compassion that manifests itself in intelligent study of needs. The economic results of their disability, moreover, are not so immediately apparent. For these reasons, probably, their serious problems have been more generally ignored. Functional re-education, which is comparable in their case to lip-reading for the deaf and Braille for the blind, had only begun to show its possibilities before the war, and was available for only a very few persons. Serious study of the productive possibilities of men crippled in different degrees and different ways was still more embryonic.

For this reason, therefore, because the "program" of work for cripples had not yet taken shape, except in the minds of a few individuals, and for the further reason that among the men permanently disabled by the war the *mutilés* and the lame far outnumber any other class, it will be of interest to examine in some detail what had been done for cripples before the war and what had been learned from that experience.

Dependent Cripples in the United States

Crippled men have been forced upon our notice as a conspicuous part of the wreckage in almshouses and bread-lines, among park loafers and street beggars, and we have concluded that a crippled condition was a cause of pauperism and mendicancy and that therefore accidents ought to be prevented—which is all very well as far as it goes.

The compensation laws which have been passed in nearly all our States in the last ten years have been an important step toward what may ultimately be a "system" of providing for

[1] Aside from those handicapped by pulmonary tuberculosis and similar diseases.

industrial cripples. They are only a beginning, however, analogous to the pensions for disabled soldiers. The money payment is a "compensation," but it does not of itself insure that a disabled man will not take the easy downward path to discouragement and deterioration. There are many cases, moreover, to which it does not apply. Only 11 per cent of all the cripples found in the recent comprehensive survey in Cleveland owe their condition to an industrial accident. Men are injured not only by machinery in factories, but by automobiles in the streets and by a great variety of accidents in domestic and social and economic relations. A carpenter slips in the shop and falls on some splinters of glass, with the result that he loses a foot. A farm hand sees a lighted fire-cracker in a field where some picnickers have been celebrating the Fourth of July, and when he tries to kick it into the creek it explodes and hits his hand, injuring it so seriously that amputation is necessary. One man is hurt while hunting, another while stealing a ride on a freight car, another in the process of being ejected from a saloon. The strange and sinister disease thrombo-angiitis obliterans deprives a tailor of first one leg and then the other. A snow shoveler freezes his hands and they have to be taken off. An ice-man drops a block of ice on his foot, crushing it. A butcher lets the heavy lid of a refrigerator close on his hand. An owner of oil wells is burned by the explosion of one of his tanks. A man who has a day off from his factory work undertakes to wash the windows at home—on the first floor, as it happens—and falls, badly injuring his arm. A nail in the shoe causes blood poisoning. A hot fight with knives disables one man, while "a friendly tussle" is equally serious for another, as he hits his "friend's" teeth with his clenched fist, breaking the skin on one finger, and this is followed by blood poisoning. These are only a few samples of the accidents which are responsible for the condition of cripples in New York City today.

The efforts which have been made to reach the adult cripple before he becomes demoralized and help him keep his place as a

productive member of society, or to restore him to that place after he has taken the easy path to chronic dependence, have been modest and few. Individual employers and friends have given thought to individual cases. Charitable societies have furnished artificial limbs and tried to find employment. Individual social workers have valiantly fought to revive the remnant of self-respect and ambition which they could see even in demoralized wrecks, and one or two of them have tried to point out the possibility of preventing a large part of this wreckage by giving help and encouragement before the demoralization has progressed too far.

Among these are James Forbes, Mendicancy Agent of the New York Charity Organization Society during the years (1902–1906) when a special committee of the society, with the cooperation of the Police Department, succeeded in almost eliminating begging from the streets of the city, and Alice Willard Solenberger, whose study of *One Thousand Homeless Men of Chicago* [1] includes a chapter on cripples. Mr. Forbes's reports [2] show how large a proportion of the professional mendicants are men who have been crippled in some way, and give glimpses of what was done to try to help them, though unfortunately most of his experience remains scattered in fragments through the case-records of the thousands of men he knew.

Mrs. Solenberger found that 254 of her thousand men—not beggars necessarily, but "lodging house men" whom she had tried to help in connection with the Chicago Bureau of Charities—were crippled or maimed, by disease or accident or (a very few) from congenital defect. Her testimony is important:

> A man's adjustment to his changed condition, and his ultimate position in the industrial world, seem to depend in very large part upon his own spirit and temperament and his general attitude toward life. The man who was a vagrant and a tramp before his injury is likely to be one after it, and will often use his handicap as his most valuable begging asset. The man who was a worker will in most cases be a worker still, if not totally incapacitated by his injuries or overwhelmed by dire poverty or friendlessness.

[1] Published by the Russell Sage Foundation, 1911.
[2] In the annual reports of the Charity Organization Society of New York City.

In one case, for two years we watched and worked against the gradual deterioration of a really fine man; but the odds against him in the struggle for independence were very great, and association with idlers and beggars in the lodging houses finally converted him into one of their number. We failed utterly to save this man; but I believe that he had enough of self-respect and ability when he first applied to the bureau for help to have been saved in the end if we could have found the right sort of work for him and if he could have been removed in time from the morally poisonous atmosphere of the lodging houses.

Several men showed the results of failure to receive needed help at the beginning of their difficulties.

The importance of prompt and adequate relief of some sort in the case of every self-respecting cripple condemned to live in a lodging house can not be overestimated.

Some men claimed to be begging only to secure money for an artificial leg, saying they would go to work after obtaining one, but in no case when a leg had been purchased did the begging cease. An earnest recital of a desire to work as soon as an artificial leg is secured proves to be productive of such good results in the form of contributions from the public that it is the favorite begging story of many one-legged mendicants. One man who is still known to the bureau has used the story for eleven consecutive years, during which he has received money enough to purchase scores of legs. Not a few mendicant cripples who own artificial legs wear them by day and unstrap them and beg on the streets at night. There were even two instances in Chicago where men wore their artificial legs and were employed during the day, but begged at the theatre doors at night.

All efforts to help the disabled have been hampered in the past by lack of facilities for training the handicapped and by indifference on the part of the general public. In fact, in our provision for civil cripples (except for compensation, which affects only those disabled in industry, and those only in their financial problems), we have hardly progressed beyond the first stage in the evolution of care for war cripples. Our main reliance in the twentieth century is that of the middle ages—license to beg from the public, with or without the transparent disguise of a few shoe-strings or pencils offered for sale. Our subway stations and shops and traveled streets have their counterparts of the mutilated figures which frequented the highways and market towns and fêtes of medieval Europe, the only difference being that these recite no thrilling tales of adventure and conflict, but limit themselves to a whining formula or find it

sufficient merely to supply a cup or a cap to receive the ready coins of the sensitive public.

Special Employment Bureaus

Aside from this survival of medieval usage and the individual efforts of social workers, almost the only attempt in the United States to help the adult cripple who needs help (many of them, of course, solve their own problems without assistance) has been the organization of special employment bureaus for the handicapped—not exclusively for cripples, but including them—which have undertaken to find work fitted to their capacity for persons at a disadvantage in the competitive labor market.

The first of these special employment bureaus was the one conducted for six years, from April, 1906, to June, 1912, by the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York. All kinds of handicaps were admitted—physical, mental, and social—including extreme corpulence, a criminal record, previous history of tuberculosis, cardiac disease, mere "delicacy" of health, and inability to speak English, as well as the more commonly discussed hardships of defective vision and hearing, age, lameness and deformity. There were no precedents for the bureau to follow, and perhaps its most important service lay in the discussions of the committee in charge of it, under the chairmanship of the late Dr. Theodore C. Janeway.

Among the six thousand and more men and women who were registered in the course of the six years there were 250 men who were crippled by the loss of one or more limbs. Work or training was secured by the bureau for only fifty of them, one out of five. The fifty who were helped in some way were probably on the whole more favorable subjects than the rest, and from the information which is available about them it is evident that they had many handicaps besides their crippled condition.

The majority were cases of ancient injury, two-thirds of them dating from at least three years before the application to the bureau, some of them from childhood, and of these many had

suffered a natural depreciation of character and economic ability. Several had been confirmed vagrants and beggars before their accident, and one from among those recently crippled had met his injury while stealing a ride in Nevada in the exercise of his profession of vagrancy.

Some of the men, moreover, were diseased or had habits which interfered with their earning power more seriously than did their injuries. Many of them belonged to families which had been under the care of charitable societies and were not strikingly different from other dependent families.

Opportunities for training were found for some of these cripples and paid employment was secured for forty-three. The training, however, which the meager facilities of the city afforded, was not adapted to the character and previous experience of the men, and the occupations in which paid employment was secured were for the most part low-paid and unskilled and in many cases the same which the men had been accustomed to since their injury.

In view of the experience of the bureau it is not surprising that it was discontinued after a trial of six years. Most of the applicants who came to it had long been leading lives of semi-dependence or mendicancy, and needed much more varied and extensive assistance than an employment bureau could give. The men who were already skilled in any occupation did not need the services of a special bureau. For those whose injuries were recent and who were in other respects hopeful candidates for a useful career, except that they were unskilled, few opportunities were found for the training or instruction which they needed. It was clear that a large variety of special opportunities for training must be available if any considerable number of cripples is to be restored to productive life; jewelry and feather work and stuffing teddy bears do not constitute a range to suit the aptitudes of all. It is evident, moreover, from the records of the bureau, that such work can be successful only if the staff is large enough and ingenious enough to make a thorough study

of the possibilities of each cripple who applies, and to supply for him the imagination, ambition, and courage which he may lack. It is work that can not be done quickly. Relations must be continued until the readjustment is confirmed. It is not enough to refer a man to a position. He must be visited to find out whether he took the work, encouraged through the first difficulties, and other opportunities must be offered him until the right thing is found, at which he can succeed.

In announcing its decision to discontinue the special employment bureau, the committee of the Charity Organization Society records this opinion:

> The experience of the bureau has shown that it is impossible to create a market for the labor of crippled adults without fitting them, by training in suitable kinds of industry, to compete on practically even terms with those who are not handicapped. Special investigations made under the auspices of the committee in charge of this bureau united with this experience to enforce the conviction that special industrial training is the fundamental requirement to assure opportunity of employment for those whose powers have been impaired by accident or disease. The natural and desirable arrangement is to associate the employment of persons so handicapped with a training school adapted to their needs.

A year or so ago, the idea of a special employment bureau for cripples was revived and a department for the handicapped was organized in connection with the general employment bureau conducted by the Hudson Guild, a settlement of New York City. This has since become a department of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men.

In many respects this bureau, while it was connected with the Hudson Guild, repeated the experience of its prototype, but it had an advantage in its connection with a general employment agency. This brought in knowledge of positions which would not come to a special bureau, and it was found that a qualified cripple could frequently be placed in a position for which it would not occur to the employer to seek a cripple.[1]

[1] For information about this bureau we are indebted to a study made by Mr. J. C. Faries during the summer of 1917. Mr. Faries examined the records of all the male applicants whose handicap was an injury to legs or arms.

For the most part the candidates here, too, were those who had been crippled for years and had sunk into a parasitic attitude. Here, again, it was found that the range of occupations in which placements were made, and also the range of what the men thought they would like to do, was very limited. The kind of work the cripples asked for shows that suggestion is stronger than imagination. What they have seen others do, who are similarly handicapped, suggests possible lines of employment. Immediate necessity, furthermore, often forces them into the ranks of the unskilled. The work most commonly asked for by those maimed in the hands or arms, but whose powers of locomotion are unimpaired, is that of watchman or messenger. Those whose handicap has impaired locomotion commonly apply for seated occupations. Clerical work, addressing, and switchboard operating are most often asked for. A few want to run elevators.

The experience of this bureau has emphasized anew the need of opportunities for training, and also the importance of intensive, individual "case-work," patient and ingenious, continued until the cripple is firmly established in a position of self-support. With its transfer to the Red Cross Institute, the facilities at the command of the bureau have been greatly extended, and its work will be watched with interest.

The Kehillah, or Jewish Community, of New York City, has for eight or nine years conducted an employment bureau for the handicapped, serving chiefly Jewish applicants. A study of its records is now under way, which should be of great value. Other efforts to study the economic needs of the handicapped and to place them where they can earn a living have been made in other cities. Very significant work has been done at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston. The State-City Free Labor Exchange of Cincinnati has a "Handicapped Department," which has entered upon increased activity in anticipation of the needs of disabled soldiers, hoping to develop its own machinery so as to be ready for the increased demands when they

come and also to prepare employers, public officials, and the general public to do their part.

"Surveys" of Cripples

In recent years several attempts have been made to get a general view of the economic situation of all the cripples in a given community. The most successful one made before the war, which included adults, was the one conducted by the Special Schools' Subcommittee of the city of Birmingham, England.[1] A cripple was defined as "a person whose (muscular) movements are so far restricted by accident or disease as to affect his capacity for self-support." In this city of 840,000 inhabitants the committee found 1,001 cripples over sixteen years of age, 546 males and 455 females. Of the 546 men:

> 128 were considered able to work under ordinary conditions;
> 84 able to work in a special workshop;
> 30 to do remunerative work at home; and the remaining
> 304 unable to do any remunerative work.

This was not a complete census of the adult cripples of the city, since by the definition which was adopted the independent and successful ones were excluded. The true picture of the entire group would be much more hopeful than this; and the prognosis for war cripples would be still more encouraging, since these figures include men who have been crippled from birth or childhood as well as those whose injury is recent.

A survey was made in the State of Rhode Island not long ago; but there, too, the enumeration was inevitably incomplete, and there were undoubtedly more omissions of successful cripples than of dependents. Only 409 schedules were collected altogether, and of these only 89 were from adults over seventeen years of age. Of the 89, 31 were reported to be entirely self-supporting, 23 partially.[2]

Since the war began a much more ambitious study has been

[1] *American Journal of Care for Cripples,* vol. III, No. 2, page 94.
[2] *Ibid.,* vol. III, No. 3, page 113.

made in Cleveland, Ohio, under the auspices of the Welfare Federation, which undertook a survey of "all the cripples of Cleveland" in the year 1916. By a house-to-house canvass of 150,000 families, 4,186 persons were found who were "physically handicapped by defects of skeleton or skeletal muscles." This definition was adopted, rather than one based on economic need, because it was realized early in the inquiry that the same disability might be "a measurable economic handicap in one case and apparently none at all in another."

The 1,738 men between fifteen and sixty years of age who were found were classified as follows with respect to their ability to work:

Class A—Not seriously handicapped for normal occupation.... 32 per cent.
Class B—Able to work at selected trades and processes..... 48 per cent.
Class C—Disabled for work with normal persons ..... 20 per cent.

The men in Class A were chiefly those who had lost one foot or leg or its use, or who had minor defects of the hand or arm, together with a considerable number whose bodies were deformed but who were handicapped only in appearance. By no means all of Class A were actually at work, while on the other hand one-fourth of Class C were employed.

Sixty-two per cent of the men over fifteen were employed, and 58 per cent were "earning a living." They were working at a great variety of occupations. Sixty different occupations were represented by four or more men each. The large groups, however, except for the carpenters, painters, and others who had mastered a trade before becoming crippled, were in unskilled employments.

Of the conclusions reached by those who made this study of the crippled population of a city—neatly summarized under eight headings, four for children, four for adults—the most pertinent in the present connection are the following:

7. The great variety of forms of handicap and notable differences in aptitudes and experiences prior to becoming crippled point to the need of a most flexible system of service to those among cripples who can not make

their way unaided, but who may be benefited by special plans for their rehabilitation and reeducation. This plan may well be a part of an adequate system for vocational training for all citizens.

8. The physically handicapped are at an increasing disadvantage, no matter how competent, because of the tendency of employers to avoid added risks incurred by employing handicapped persons.[1]

"Adaptation to Mutilations"

In the industrial countries of Europe, where compensation laws have been longer in operation and accidents to working men have for this and other reasons received more serious attention than they have in America, various beginnings had been made before the war which might have developed gradually into a comprehensive system of reeducation and restoration to economic usefulness, even without the impetus which has been given by the events of the last four years.

Several years ago a study was made of what we in America would call the "social aspects" of functional reeducation, by a surgeon of Geneva, based on his experience with cases of industrial accident. A revised edition, published in 1916, while Professor Julliard was attached to an auxiliary hospital in Lyons, contains a chapter on injuries of war.[2]

Functional reeducation is obviously the basis of future ability in economic life. The degree in which the disabled man is able to indemnify himself for the missing or useless member determines the degree in which he will be able to resume his accustomed place as an integer in the world. Professor Julliard's study is therefore of fundamental interest. He analyzes under twelve headings the factors which affect functional adaptation:

(1) Age. The younger the injured person, the more complete and thorough is the adaptation likely to be, though it is impossible to say at what age it may no longer be expected. There are dangers, on the other hand, when the injury takes

[1] *Education and Occupation of Cripples, Juvenile and Adult,* by Lucy Wright and Amy M. Hamburger. Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, Series II, No. 3. (1918.)

[2] Charles Julliard: *L'Accoutumance aux Mutilations.*

place in youth, that growth may be arrested or that the adaptation may be made through compensatory deformities which are themselves undesirable. A "social" advantage of an injury in youth is that determination or change of occupation is easier then than it is later in life. The psychological effect may be less or more serious, depending on temperament and other circumstances in the situation.

(2) Nature of the wound. The extent and location of the injury; the amount of scar tissue formed; its proximity to an articulation, to a large tendon or nerve-trunk; whether or not other organs are involved; the length of time required for healing; whether or not the wound becomes infected—all these, and other variations in the character and history of the wound, have a bearing on the prognosis for adaptation of the member after the wound is healed.

(3) Occupation. A given injury obviously is a more serious handicap in some occupations than in others, but in general it is astonishing to find how rarely a change of occupation is necessary. Marvelous adaptations are accomplished. It is necessary to study the essential motions of the work and also to consider the "social" disadvantage which the mutilation may be in a particular occupation. Highly specialized workers often find greater difficulty than the unskilled in adapting themselves.

(4) Legislation. Compensation in a lump sum is more favorable to rapid progress than a periodical allowance. Progress is much faster in a man who has received his indemnity and knows he has nothing more to expect than in one who is entitled to a pension during the period of his disability.

(5) Character and intelligence. A great deal of effort, perseverance, and ingenuity are necessary if muscles are to be retrained and members are to be habituated to new duties and new ways of performing old ones. Mere education seems to be of little advantage; sometimes, in fact, it appears to "engender idleness." Character, however, and natural intelligence are of supreme importance.

(6) Social conditions. Men who have wives and children dependent upon them progress faster than men without responsibilities. The condition of the labor market and the general standard of living have an influence on the rate of recovery, while a man's own previous life may have contained some circumstance which affects his individual progress, as, for example, if a previous accident and its attendant period of inaction has given him a taste for idleness.

(7) "Integrity" of the body. The first injury, other things being equal, is the one to which the body can most readily adapt itself. If a man who already has a disabled shoulder or elbow injures his hand, his adaptation in the case of the hand will be less perfect than if the rest of the arm were normal.

(8) Time since the accident occurred. Favorable results may be expected in inverse ratio to the time allowed to elapse before functional reeducation is begun.

(9) Sex is not very important, but women seem to have some advantage over men in the case of injuries to fingers and others in which compensation involves skill rather than strength.

(10) Personal "disposition" of body. Corpulence is a disadvantage, for example, when a leg is lost, and ambidexterity an advantage, in case of injury to either hand, while it is good luck for a man who loses his right hand if he happens to be left handed.

(11) *L'entrainement,* suggesting both more and less than "training," is difficult to translate. Animation in the patient, responding to force or drawing power in the one who is educating him, is perhaps nearest what is meant. The sooner an injured man gets under way, the better is the prospect for his success in adaptation, and for this reason it is desirable that he should return to work promptly, as soon as he is able.

(12) Influence of the doctor, and of all who advise the patient. The surgeon or physician who is so intimately associated with the injured man immediately after his accident, and sometimes for a long time, has a serious responsibility. It is not

enough for him "simply" to be a good doctor. He must be that, of course, but he must also be alive to the social aspects of the problem. He must make no mistake in diagnosis or in prognosis, but he must also understand the compensation laws; he must know enough about his patient's work to advise him whether and when to return to it and how best to prepare for resuming it; he must realize the psychological, as well as the muscular, effect of idleness; he must not treat the wound simply as a wound—keeping the limb immobile for a long time, for example, to favor healing, without regard to the effect on functional activity—but he must give it what is, in view of all considerations, a "rational" treatment.

Scientific Studies

Analysis of the motions involved in an occupation and of the individual's ability to perform those motions, which is alluded to by Professor Julliard, had been recognized before the war as offering possibilities of a scientific method of approach to utilizing disabled workmen. Professor Jules Amar, in his laboratory at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, had for ten or fifteen years been studying the "human motor" as a machine, and even before the war broke out he had analyzed the nature of the effort required in a great many operations, and had used this knowledge in finding out what occupations were possible for disabled men, in devising artificial appliances for them and apparatus to facilitate their progress in functional reeducation, as well as instruments for analyzing their ability.[1]

In America also a beginning had been made in "motion study" and "fatigue study," as a part of the "efficiency movement" which seeks among other things to eliminate waste effort of every kind. Since the beginning of the war the applicability of this idea to the reeducation of disabled soldiers has been pointed out and much has been written about it by Mr. (now Major)

[1] Jules Amar: *Le Moteur Humain, et les bases scientifiques du travail professionnel.* 1914.

Frank B. Gilbreth.[1] Major Gilbreth has collected in his private laboratory at Providence, Rhode Island, many records of the motions involved in certain processes, and also many photographs and other records of what crippled persons have actually been able to do. As he puts it, the work in any occupation may be considered as a demand for certain motions, and the worker as the source of supply of those motions. The problem then is to discover exactly what motions may, and what motions must, be used to perform the work; what motions are possible for the particular man under consideration; and what type of work he may best be adapted to, and how this adaptation may be accomplished.

Motion study is an aid not only in relating the natural abilities of the individual to a particular occupation, but also in devising appliances which will supplement the natural powers of men disabled in various ways, and in adapting machines to the use of cripples by modifications which counteract handicaps. It has been considerably developed and utilized during the war, especially in France.

European Institutions

Both in Europe and America many institutions exist—though they are far from being adequate to the need—for the physical care and education of crippled children. Some of the European institutions have tried to provide also for adults.

The Scandinavian countries were the leaders in organizing vocational training for cripples.[2] In 1872 Pastor Hans Knudsen founded in Copenhagen the first really efficient society for the aid of cripples. Beginning with a clinic, open one hour a week, it added one feature after another: provision of artificial

[1] Various papers by Major Gilbreth have been collected in a volume: *Applied Motion Study.* 1917.

[2] Dr. Maurice Bourrillon: *L'Assistance aux Estropiés et aux Mutilés, en Danemark, Suède, et Norvège.* Originally published in 1903; reprinted, with a supplementary note, in *Comment Rééduquer nos Invalides de la Guerre,* 1916.

appliances, workrooms for men and women, a home for children from the provinces, and a school for children. Similar institutions have been established in other Scandinavian cities and in Germany. The Scandinavian experience, says Dr. Bourrillon, indicates that about half the cripples can be put in position to earn their living and that the other half can earn something. There are no lame beggars, he says, in the streets of Copenhagen and Stockholm and Christiania.

While these institutions are suggestive, and their results encouraging, they have only a limited application to plans for crippled soldiers. Their clientèle is composed largely of children and congenital cripples; the total number of adults affected is small, and the occupations in which training for adults is given are limited; many of the men who are trained are kept in the institution and do not undertake to compete with the able-bodied under ordinary working conditions.

Interesting small experiments have been made elsewhere, here and there, as in the Maximilien Hospital of Petrograd, where since 1897 cripples have been taught several trades—especially, with considerable success, the making of prosthetic appliances. It is Belgium, however, which before the war had done the most advanced work in the reeducation of industrial cripples, in the famous school at Charleroi and the Institut de Brabant. The teachers from these schools have exercised a marked influence on the development of training for war cripples in France, as well as in the Belgian institutions on French soil.

A short-lived experiment in training adult cripples had been made in the United States before the war. A trade school was opened in New York City in 1912, but—for reasons which in no way invalidate the theory on which it was based—it was not successful and soon went out of existence.

Plan of the Massachusetts Board of Education

In 1916 the Massachusetts Board of Education was instructed to make an inquiry in regard to training for injured persons. Its

report was issued in February, 1917, on the eve of the entry of the United States into the war.

The board found that there were few serious accidents in the skilled trades, with the possible exception of carpentry, and that the great majority of disabling injuries occur among men with little or no trade training, including many immigrants with little general education as well; also that most industrial accidents occur between the ages of twenty-one and forty, when men are still generally susceptible to training, "that is, motor coordinations and reactions can be established as habits, and degrees of skill, depending upon the capacities of individuals, can be attained." These considerations point to the need for providing opportunities for vocational education after injury and give a basis for hoping that good results may be expected.

To provide such opportunities it was recommended that a bureau for the training of persons whose earning capacity has been destroyed or impaired by industrial accident or disease be established in the Board of Education. This bureau should cooperate with existing agencies that deal with injured persons, but it should also be empowered to establish new agencies if necessary, and to establish special classes in existing schools. It should be charged with the responsibility of advising the handicapped in regard to choice of an occupation and other matters; and it should provide traveling teachers, to supervise the instruction offered in schools or workshops all over the State. At the outset probably two such traveling supervisors would be needed: one for operations connected with textile manufacture; the other for those machine operations which are involved in a variety of semiskilled occupations.

Massachusetts passed two laws in the session of 1917-18 for the training of disabled persons. One, for the benefit of persons incapacitated for earning a living through industrial accident, established a division in the department of the Industrial Accident Board, to aid them "in obtaining such education, training, and employment as will tend to restore their capacity to earn a

livelihood." This division may "cooperate with the United States Government, and in cooperation with the Board of Education may establish or maintain, or assist in establishing or maintaining, in schools supported wholly or in part by the commonwealth, such courses as it may deem expedient, and otherwise may act in such manner as it may deem necessary to accomplish the purposes of this act." The other law is "to provide for the training and instruction of disabled soldiers and sailors by the commonwealth and the federal government." The Board of Education is directed to establish a division for this purpose. The governor is authorized to transfer to this division "any State hospital, school, or workshop"; the Board of Education is empowered to make agreements for the use of existing facilities, to provide others, and to employ qualified teachers; $10,000 is appropriated for its expenses for the present year.

Recently Crippled Men

The experience of charitable societies, almshouses, special employment bureaus, and vagrancy officers has familiarized us with the parasitic type of cripple, and has shown how easy it is for the man who loses a leg or an arm to sink into discouragement, idleness, pauperization. On the other hand, this same experience, supplemented by the scientific and social studies that have been mentioned, and the work of a few institutions, has furnished clues to the kind of help that is needed to prevent deterioration and demoralization. Everyone knows, moreover, that there are hundreds of cripples who by their own unaided energy and initiative and courage have found it possible to keep their independence and even to hold enviable positions. There are many even who date the beginning of their success from the time when a crippling injury had made necessary a new start in life.

To secure more definite information about cripples who succeed in readjusting themselves, and, if possible, to arrive at some idea of the relative proportions of the two classes, the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men decided, as a part of

its preliminary work in the summer of 1917, to collect personal histories of men who have been crippled in civil life in the city of New York in the last two or three years.[1]

Recently crippled men and men of military age were sought, for obvious reasons. Lists were secured from hospitals, from the Industrial Commission, and from the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, and investigators—who were all university graduate students—visited the men to get their stories.

The object of the inquiry was to discover the economic effect of particular injuries, to see to what extent men who have suffered these injuries have been able to return to their old occupations or to take up others, how they have secured the training they needed, or what they have needed which they were not able to secure. The purpose of the visit was always frankly explained to the men, and with the exception of two or three who were suspicious of some connection with the Compensation Board, they told their stories most generously, glad to make this contribution to plans for the welfare of crippled soldiers and sailors. In view of the circumstances under which the investigation was made, it was not possible to verify the information secured from the men except as that could be done by cross-examination, and it was not considered advisable to make repeated visits—since that might rouse expectations that could not be fulfilled—for the sake of getting details overlooked in the first interview. For this reason some of the stories are incomplete, and some of them may not be wholly accurate. In general, however, the investigators felt that they succeeded in getting at the truth, and those who have studied the collection of records feel that it reveals a great deal about the critical period immediately following a serious accident in the life of a grown man.

[1] Since this study was made, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has made an investigation of 123 compensation cases in Massachusetts, a report of which is published in the *Monthly Labor Review*, July, 1918, under the title, "What Becomes of Men Crippled in Industry?" by Carl Hookstadt. This material tends to confirm the impressions gained from the investigation of the Red Cross Institute, as here described.

Altogether 361 stories were gathered.[1] Leaving out a few cripples with whom the investigators scraped acquaintance on the street, who frequently embroidered their tales to make them more entertaining; leaving out also those whose injury was of long standing, the old men and school-boys, and those whose injury was only temporary in character, we have a group of 300 men permanently disabled to a greater or less degree, who in age and previous circumstances approximate what might be expected among disabled soldiers.

A large majority had suffered only minor injuries—the loss of part of a finger or so—which would hardly be considered worth mentioning in connection with war cripples, but among the 300 stories are many of men who have had serious amputations, and there are examples of all stages and varieties of readjustment. The injuries were as follows:

One or more fingers	154
Left hand	12
Left arm	13
Right hand	14
Right arm	13
Hand (not specified which)	2
Toes	9
Foot (in one case, both feet)	20
Leg	63
Total	300

Economic Readjustment

In studying these records from the point of view of the readjustments the men have made they may be divided into the following groups:

1. Working at the same occupation as before their injury	113
2. Working, but at a different occupation	92
3. Learning a trade or profession	7
4. Not working, for various reasons	88
Total	300

[1] A study of these 361 records, made by John Culbert Faries, was issued by the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men on January 18, 1918, as one of its publications. (Series I, No. 2.) The analysis which is used in our text is based on an independent study made by Miss Brandt of the 300 cases among these 361 which most nearly approach the situation of disabled soldiers.

It was thought in advance that it would be important to find out what proportion of the men had returned to their former employers, either in their former positions or in some other capacity, but it was soon apparent that that was an item of little significance. Most of these men were working in factories or other establishments employing a considerable number of men, and at occupations requiring little skill. The men who feed or tend machines are the most numerous group of all. Such work requires very little training. Whether a man goes back to the same machine or to another demanding no more experience, whether he goes back to the same shop or another, seems to be largely a matter of chance. Even among the more skilled men it seems to be a much less important matter in a city like New York than might be anticipated. Some had been working only a short time in the place where they were injured. Some seem to prefer to change frequently. Some took this opportunity to look around and find something better. Some went back to the old place for a short time and then left for a better position. Several said that they "could have gone back" if they had so desired. It is evident that there is a high degree of mobility in the labor force which these cripples represent.

To get at what we are especially interested in, *viz.*, to what extent these cripples have succeeded in making satisfactory readjustments since their injury, we may divide them roughly into four groups:

(1) Those who may be regarded as having made a satisfactory adjustment, whose situation is as good as or better than it was before their injury;

(2) Those who, although in a less favorable economic situation than before, have made a partial readjustment;

(3) Those in whose cases the outcome is not yet apparent;

(4) Those who, at any rate thus far, have been unsuccessful in readjusting themselves.

In the first group we include those who are working at the same or better wages, whether in their old occupation or a new one; those who, though not working now, confidently expect to go back to work when they get ready to; those who can give up

work without disadvantage; and the very few who are learning a trade or continuing their general education. In the second group are those who, though working, are earning less—often much less—than formerly; in the third, those whose present physical condition makes it uncertain what the outcome will be; leaving in the fourth group, of the unsuccessful, those who are not now working and for whose unemployment there is no obvious explanation. The result is the following table:

Present Economic Situation	Injury				Total	
	Fingers	Hand or Arm	Toes	Foot or Leg	Number	Per cent.
1. Satisfactory adjustment, situation as good or better....	120	19	9	23	171	57
2. Partial readjustment, situation less favorable.....	16	17	..	15	48	16
3. Outcome not yet apparent...	5	2	..	20	27	9
4. Unsuccessful in making readjustment	13	16	..	25	54	18
Total	154	54	9	83	300	100

According to this analysis considerably over half the men whose stories we have secured (179, or 57 per cent) have already made their own adjustments and are only slightly incapacitated, if at all, in earning a living. Some are even in a better position than they were before the injury, because of the occasion it has been for making a change of occupation or because it seems to have acted as a stimulus to initiative. Some are doing their work with greater difficulty, though not seriously handicapped. Most of the first group, however, are in about the same economic situation as before they were crippled. In the time that has passed since their accident—ranging from three months to two years and a half—they have succeeded in virtually obliterating its effects as a factor in their economic life.

Sixteen per cent more are working and earning something. Some of these will undoubtedly pass up into the successful class in the course of time; some of them, however, will drift in the other direction and become more helpless and dependent if they are left to themselves.

Twenty-seven of the men (9 per cent) are still under treat-

ment, not yet in condition to work, or they are ill, or—in several cases of loss of leg—"the other leg is troubling him."

This leaves about one-sixth of the 300 men (18 per cent) who thus far have been definitely unsuccessful in readjusting themselves. Possible explanations for their failure will be considered in other connections.

The proportion of successes and failures would be expected to vary considerably with the nature of the injury. Disregarding the cases of partial readjustment and those in which the outcome is not yet clear (groups 2 and 3 in the table on the preceding page) the percentages are as follows:

Present Situation	Percentages			
	All Cases	Fingers	Hand or Arm	Foot or Leg
Satisfactory	58	78	35	28
Unsatisfactory	18	8	30	30

Loss of Fingers or Toes

The mere loss of a finger, or even of three or four fingers, seems to make little difference to these men, and it seems to make little difference whether it is on the right hand or the left. After the amputation of a finger, however, the neighboring fingers are frequently left stiff and are more troublesome than the lack of the one that is gone. There is a skilled ribbon weaver, for example, who has lost his right index finger and does not miss it in the least, but is bothered by the stiffened middle finger. The great majority of the 154 men among these 300 who have had injuries to the fingers have gone back to their former work or have easily found another position. The accident is only an incident in their lives, not a crisis. To enumerate the occupations in which they have been engaged since their injury is hardly necessary, for it is evident that such injuries do not ordinarily incapacitate a man for industrial and commercial occupations. In the case of an artist, a dentist, a surgeon, however, even a trifling injury to a finger might mean professional disaster.

The loss of one or two toes may be a trivial injury, or it may

interfere seriously with earning capacity for a long time. The nine men among our 300 who had lost toes were back at work, but several of them said that they still had considerable pain and were doing their work only with difficulty. One of them, an unskilled laborer, went back to his old employer, but the place where he was put to dig was damp and that hurt his lame foot so that he was obliged to leave. The forced change was no disadvantage, however, for he found a place at three dollars a day instead of two.

A genial German-American who has for many years been a successful butcher's salesman at $20 a week finds it hard to stand all day, and says that the pain in his foot bothers him so that he gets his accounts mixed up and has to stay after hours to straighten them out. He is worried lest his employer may get impatient with him. It is probable that the surgical treatment he has had from two hospitals and from several private physicians has been at fault and that he needs skilled medical attention.

Loss of Foot or Leg

The loss of an entire foot or leg is often less serious than one might anticipate. Crippling from a stiff knee or badly set bones may be more disabling. If the surgical work is successful, the amputation below the thigh, and the artificial leg is skilfully fitted, a man can do almost anything he has ever been able to do. We have heard of a "one-legged" base-ball team in New York City, and one of our men mentioned that he plays tennis and base-ball with friends who have all their members. One man, a Jewish upholsterer, goes so far as to say that "if a man has any will power" there is no reason why the loss of a leg should handicap him at all. He himself went back to his own work eight months after his accident and five days after getting his artificial leg.

The will power, unfortunately, is not always adequate, and sometimes there are complicating diseased conditions which make complete recovery impossible. Such a case is that of a

middle-aged man who had been a semi-invalid because of diabetes before losing his leg, and will probably never be well again. Sometimes also the judgment is faulty in deciding on plans, as was the case with the haberdasher who put his compensation money into a jitney business in St. Louis and did not make a success of it, and is now supported by his father.

After the loss of a foot or a leg an artificial substitute is almost indispensable to success. It seems to be much more important to replace a leg than an arm. Crutches interfere with the free use of arms and hands and moreover give an air of disability which is practically a serious handicap.

Among the 300 men we are studying the 83 who have lost a foot or a leg do not make as favorable a showing as would be expected: only 28 per cent of them have made what can be called a satisfactory readjustment—less than the proportion among the men who have lost a hand or arm—and 30 per cent of them are not working at all. One explanation for this is that many of them, for one reason or another, have no artificial leg. This is true of nearly half of the men who are idle. Another probable explanation is that comparatively few of the men who have lost a leg have had the advantage of compensation—only 19 out of 63—while nearly all of the accidents to hands and arms—43 out of 52—were industrial injuries which received compensation. Occupations covered by the compensation law are more apt to produce injuries to the upper limbs than to the lower.

The occupations represented among the 34 "leg cripples" who are working are the following: electrician (superintendent of works), upholsterer, dental mechanic, carpenter; a baker, a butcher, a painter, an automobile mechanic, all four of whom have their own business; owner of store (2), elevator repairer, worker in cement mill, operator on artificial flowers, folding paper, flagman, timekeeper, watchman, kitchen assistant (2), driver (2), helper on truck and on mail wagon, laborer (2), elevator operator (3), pedler (2), odd jobs (4).

The first two in this list are not handicapped at all. The

dental mechanic is a Russian Jew who had earned from $25 to $30 a week before his accident. His wages now are only $18 because, his employer says, "he can't move around so well"; but the investigator got the impression that he was worth as much as ever, and that his lameness was merely made an excuse for the reduction in wages. The carpenter is earning as much as before. One of the storekeepers, a former brakeman, has already had three stores in different places in two years and a half. He says he is "making a living," but it is probably not as good a one as his wages of $28 provided. He says that the railroad had promised to find some employment for him, but had not yet done so.

The baker, butcher, painter, and automobile mechanic, who have their own businesses, are not handicapped, or do not expect to be as soon as they are fully recovered. The painter is a Russian Jew of strong character and decided opinions. He has lost both legs above the knee, one eight or nine years ago, the other recently, as a result of gangrene. He walks a mile or so every day and employs three or four men. He thinks there is no reason why a painter who loses a leg should give up his trade but that a one-armed man could not do the work.

The rest of the list has a familiar look, including as it does the unskilled low-paid work into which cripples naturally drift unless they have such special ability or such traits of character as are represented by the first three. Some of these were doing nothing better before their injury, but two of the elevator operators had been a machinist and a driller at good wages; the men doing odd jobs had been respectively stonemason, driller, switch-repairer, longshoreman; one of the pedlers had been a skilled tailor. The bill-poster who is working for his old employer folding paper says that he is earning $12.67 per week, but as this is the amount to which he would be regularly entitled under the compensation law the probability is that what he calls wages is his compensation money. He seems to be a dull man, without ambition, and content with his present situation.

Loss of Hand or Arm

The loss of a left hand or arm is more serious, other things being equal, than the loss of a foot or a leg, and the loss of the right hand or arm—or the left in case of a left-handed person—is the most serious of all the losses of a single member. Even in so serious a case, however, the physical disability seems to be the least important factor in determining the degree of incapacity.

The brightest prospects among all the men whose stories we have are those of a young Hungarian whose right hand was cut off at the wrist in consequence of an accident while operating a chair-embossing machine. While still in the hospital he taught himself to write with his left hand, and when he went to visit his sister in another town for convalescence he took a clerical position at $12 a week to pass the time. He got his compensation in a lump sum and used it to establish his father and mother in a bakery. He had begun a night course in architecture before his accident. His old employer offered to take him back as foreman's assistant at increased wages, but the bakery is prospering and he wants to be an architect, so he has decided to complete the four years' course of training for that profession. He would be glad to teach any other cripple all that he has learned.

The men in this group who have returned to their former work are an express clerk, a sign painter, a steamfitter, a boilermaker's helper (at increased wages), a baker, two pressmen, two paper cutters, and another machine operator.

Those who are working at something different at about the same wages as formerly are: a former press boy, who has become a clerk; a baker, who is now a stableman; a laborer, who is now a watchman.

Five have made a change to their financial advantage:

(1) A former pressman is earning a dollar a week more in a bookbindery;

(2) A porter has become an iceman, with an increase of $15 per month;

(3) A blacksmith has a position with a water-meter company;

(4) A boy who is working with a printer has received over

$2,000 in compensation. The commission, in awarding it, advised his parents to have him learn a trade. He is getting more wages with the printer than he did in his former position, where he fed a paper-cutting machine, and he has a chance to learn the trade if he will;

(5) An iron-worker has found a supervising position, but he says he got it "through influence" and does not seem confident that he will be able to keep it.

The rest who are at work (15) are in the familiar unprofitable positions:

Five are watchmen, who had been—one an electrician, one a driver, three laborers;

Two are messengers, who had been machine hands in factories;

Two are pedlers, formerly a baker and a wool-carder;

A switchman is tending a machine;

A press feeder is now a checker;

Another machine tender is selling soda water;

A Scotch engineer is earning only about half his former wages, doing light work in the storeroom, but he has $4,500 compensation, his company gave him an artificial arm, and he is not anxious about the future;

A horseshoer and an iron-worker are also doing light work or odd jobs for meager wages.

The Men Who Are Better Off Since Their Injury

A substantial number among these 300 men are in a more favorable economic position now than they were before they were crippled. There are 61 who may be so described, including those who are earning more than formerly, whether at the same or a different occupation, those who have gone into business for themselves, and those who are learning a trade. This is one in five of the total number. Eleven have had major amputations.

It is not possible to say how much of this improvement is due to the accident. In some cases the increased wages merely represent the general increase which has been taking place in the last three years. In others the increase would have come to the

particular man concerned, whether he had been injured or not, as an incident to his longer service. Even those cases are significant, because they show that the injury has at least not interfered with normal progress or has not put the man out of the running in competition for the higher rates.

One of the best examples of the unexpected ways in which an accident may affect a man's fortunes is offered by the romantic story of a forty-year-old Hungarian who lost part of one finger with the result that another finger was left sore and stiff. He had been a cavalry officer in the Austrian army, but had lost his property, fallen into debt, and left the army. After coming to America he earned a living as an instructor in riding schools, but at the time of his accident he had fallen to the position of common laborer. He went back to work in four days and might be there still, at $10.50 per week, if he had not been discharged the day after his compensation was awarded. He was out of work for six months, and his family was reduced to actual want. Then he found another position at unskilled labor. It happened that the superintendent here was interested in horses, and to that our friend attributes the fact that he has been promoted to be a pumper, at about $26 per week.

In certain cases, however, though these are fewer than might be hoped and expected, the accident itself is clearly directly responsible for a brighter prospect, either because it has supplied a stimulus to exertion and jolted the man out of his comfortable rut, or because the compensation has provided capital allowing for investment in a business or further education.

The list of those who are preparing for something better is short, and includes only one man with a major amputation:

Age	Injury	Occupation before Accident	Training to be
17	Two fingers right hand	Machine feeder	Tool maker
18	Two fingers partially	Machine feeder	Tailor
21	Three fingers partially	Machine feeder	Iron-worker
22	One finger	Pressman	Cloth cutter
19	Three fingers	Machine feeder	Bookkeeper
17	One finger	Upholsterer	In High School
19	Right hand	Machine hand	Architect

The men who have gone into business for themselves are the following:

Two have bought farms, one of whom was a machine hand, the other an electric lineman;

A man who had been president of a bakery company has acquired a butcher shop, not with his compensation money, however, but through help from his son;

Another baker (foreman) who lost his left arm has bought two tenement houses with his compensation money, and now looks after his property;

A driver has gone into the milk business;

A middle-aged foreman in a machine shop has begun trading in machines;

A printer has become a real estate agent and editor of a local paper;

Three men are keeping small general stores: a brakeman who has lost his left leg; an insurance agent whose left foot was injured, and a machine hand who lost a single finger and was not incapacitated for his former occupation;

Finally, a man who had been a machinist explains his present apparent idleness by claiming to be an inventor.

Apparent Needs of the Men

Throughout the investigation the visitors were on the lookout for indications of what these cripples need.

The most common and most obvious need was for advice and encouragement. With a few notable exceptions the men seemed to have little ambition and little imagination about what they might do. Some of those who had received compensation had already wasted the money or were using it up without looking ahead to the time when it would stop. Very few were making any effort to increase their value in the labor market. Many showed signs of having become already dependent in spirit. Wise counsel and stimulus, persistently and patiently applied, not spasmodically, but throughout the critical period of readjustment, seems to be the fundamental element in a program for cripples.

For men who are crippled in civil life this might be supplied by the social service departments of hospitals, though very little apparently is done by them in this direction as yet in New York; and also by a social service department attached to the Compensation Board.

No count has been made of the cases in which advice or personal service of some sort would be of advantage, because it would have included nearly all. For the other simple needs the following table shows the relative prevalence in the different groups:

	Injury				
Apparently in Need of	Fingers	Hand or arm	Toes	Foot or leg	Total
Training	17	19	1	15	52
General financial help	1	..	..	5	6
Help in securing an artificial limb.	..	11	..	21	32
Help in finding suitable employment	18	14	1	33	66
Medical attention	4	3	..	5	12
Total different cases in need of some kind of help	29	30	2	44	105
Total number of cases	154	54	9	83	300
Percentage in need of help	19	56	..	53	35

This is not a group of applicants for charity and there was very little evidence of need of financial assistance, except in some cases to secure an artificial arm or leg. Frequently the compensation money is all used for living expenses as it comes in week by week and when the time arrives for getting the artificial appliance there is no provision for the substantial outlay it requires, and, as has been seen above (page 82) many of the accidents resulting in loss of a leg are not covered by the compensation law. There might be a difference of opinion as to whether the eleven men put down as needing help in buying a hand or arm really need it in order to earn a living, for many successful one-armed men think it is not essential. The question of artificial fingers does not arise, except for esthetic considerations.

There would hardly be any question in regard to the 21 who are said to need a foot or a leg, since an artificial substitute is almost indispensable when those members are gone. Whether

the expense should be met by philanthropy, by relatives, by the men themselves, is a question which could be answered in each case only after further investigation with that in mind. The significance of these figures is merely that here are 32 men out of a total of 137 who have had major amputations within the last three years, some of whom have received compensation or damages, who have not fitted themselves with an artificial limb and who seem in danger of going without it to their disadvantage.

A few of the men—12 or 14 in all—are obviously in need of surgical or medical attention which they are not receiving. Many more are under treatment, but these 12 or 14 are cases in which conditions which seem serious to an intelligent layman are being neglected, sometimes after a discouraging history of various experiences with hospital, dispensary, and private physicians.

The proportion of men who need training for a new occupation is an important question from the point of view of the present investigation. It is not a simple one to answer. As we have seen, over half of all are at least as well off, economically, as they were before their injury. Many of these, however, are doing only low grade work. In selecting those who need training we might include all who have never been trained to do anything as well as those whose injury has made necessary a change of occupation, disregarding ability and attitude and other possible considerations. This would be an extremely academic and arbitrary procedure. For practical purposes what is desirable is the number who, being without a profitable trade or occupation, might be disposed to spend the time and effort needed to acquire one and give promise of sufficient ability to warrant the investment. On this basis, 52 have been selected out of the 300 as being possible candidates for trade training. A few of these are skilled men whose injury has incapacitated them for the occupation they know—a weaver, a machinist, and a carpenter, for example, from among those who have lost an arm or a hand—but most of them are unskilled young men who have never done anything better than to tend a machine or help on a wagon, but who show promise of ability and at least rudiments of ambition,

and who might be persuaded to join a trade class. In many of these cases, however, the economic question would be a further problem if it came to the point of deciding, and it is not unlikely that there would not be more than a dozen or 15 of the 52 (and that is, also, of the 300) who would actually give up the small present wages they can earn for the sake of the future advantage.

About one-fifth of the men (66) seem to be in need of assistance in finding suitable employment. This includes some men who are now at work but in inferior positions. The investigators made a practice of telling all the men who were out of work, or in unsatisfactory work, about the Hudson Guild Employment Bureau. Only ten of them applied there for positions; and only one of the ten was placed. He took a position as gilder but left at the end of three days because the pay was small.

Summary

Before the war—to summarize the knowledge available at that time for our guidance in planning for disabled soldiers—educational methods for teaching blind and deaf adults, as well as children, had been developed, and enough attention had been given to the problems of crippled men to indicate in a general way what their needs are and how to meet them.

It was already known, though not widely appreciated, that the loss of a leg or an arm in adult life is very apt to result in discouragement, deterioration of ability, and pauperization of spirit, unless exceptional strength of character is present or exceptional stimulus and direction are at hand to counteract the natural tendency. On the other hand, it was clear enough that the usual demoralization and waste is not inevitable, but that it can be prevented by appropriate precautions. A program for restoration to economic independence, it had been seen, must include these elements:

(1) Skilful surgical treatment, including preparation of the stump to receive the artificial limb and use it to the best advantage;

(2) Encouragement, stimulus, and advice about the future, beginning as soon as possible after the injury takes place;

(3) Functional reeducation, as the essential basis for performing the

routine of every-day life and for returning to work, whether in the old occupation or a new one;

(4) Expert advice in choosing an occupation, in order that future economic relations may be founded on the firm basis of productivity rather than on the insecure reliance of pity and special consideration; with full appreciation of the advantages in resuming the former occupation, or taking up one closely allied with it;

(5) Opportunities for special training in a new occupation for those men who are incapacitated for returning to their former work;

(6) Facilities for placing the men in positions where they will be of the maximum utility.

Beginnings had been made in working out the practical ways and means by which these elements of the program could be provided. A few specialists had demonstrated the possibilities of surgical and orthopedic treatment and of functional reeducation. A few scientists had elaborated instruments of precision to aid in analyzing the requirements of a process and the potential efficiency of a man in performing that process. A few social workers had experimented in supplying imagination and stimulus and in hunting out occupations adapted to men with certain handicaps.

All this, however, was on an extremely limited scale. Many problems had not been squarely faced, and nowhere was there in operation a comprehensive program for men disabled in civil life. To arrive at one the stimulus of the unprecedented conditions produced by the war was needed, to shock us out of our native apathy and neglect, just as some extraordinary stimulus is required for the ordinary individual cripple before he will draw on his reserves of character and intellect.

PART III—CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES

CHAPTER IV

Great Britain

General Character of Development

Before the present war Great Britain, like other countries, had limited its provision for disabled soldiers and sailors to a modest pension on discharge from the service, together with equipment with an artificial limb or eye when that was recommended by the medical officer in charge of the case. Private societies had supplemented the state pensions and had provided certain opportunities for training and occupation.

In the second week of September, 1914, the first men were discharged from the army for disabilities incurred in the present war, and it soon became apparent that the accustomed methods would be inadequate for the new emergency, even if, as was then hoped, the war should be a short one. Discussion sprang up, in Parliament and outside, private societies began to increase their activities, the Government appointed committees to consider the matter, and a characteristically British development was soon under way—too deliberate, undoubtedly, for the urgency of the men's needs, but nevertheless one of steady progress toward a comprehensive and adequate system. "At least we can never be accused," says the *War Pensions Gazette* of November, 1917, "of not preserving an open mind and not being ready to give any scheme a chance."

The chief features in this development have been: an increase in the scale of pensions; an extension in the amount of responsibility assumed by the state, both for physical treatment and for

reestablishment in civil life; the creation of a central administrative body to discharge this responsibility; the organization by this central authority of a system of care, by coordinating the scattered elements already existing in departments of government and private agencies, filling up the gaps, and establishing local machinery for the functioning of the system; the change in character of the central authority itself, from a nominally "voluntary" body to which public functions were entrusted, to a regular department of the government; and, at every stage, the constant interplay of state activity and private effort, resulting in a system which is a mosaic of the two elements, to the confusion of the historian, but to the advantage of the disabled man, let us hope, as Captain Basil Williams points out:[1]

> What is lost thereby in symmetry and logical exactness of system is compensated for by a minimum of dull routine and by the introduction of a cheerful human element into a concern where constant freshness of outlook and sympathetic study of individual cases are essential to success. With such a combination there is every prospect that the care of those who should be sacred to us will not be stereotyped into a dull process of issuing doles over a counter, while the occasionally foolish and harmful actions of unthinking sentimentalists will be curbed by the orderly dispositions of enlightened officials and men of science.

Throughout the period of the war consideration of the needs of disabled men has been associated with consideration of the needs of the families at home while the men are in service, and of the widows, orphans, and other dependents in case of death. In the early months of the war the claims of the women and children appealed as the most urgent, probably because it was found necessary to reassure the men on this score in order to get recruits, and because chronologically disablement is a much later stage than enlistment. It was probably true, as a "gallant" member of the House of Commons said some time later, that, "If there was one thing more apparent than another . . . at the beginning of the war it was the stern resolve of the people that never again in the country should be seen disabled soldier or sailor begging at the street corner as was witnessed in the old

[1] In his article on Pensions in the first number of *Recalled to Life*.

days after the Crimean and other wars"; but from our present point of view the attention at first accorded to the needs of the men themselves in case of injury seems somewhat incidental, and it was only gradually that this subject assumed a larger place in the public interest and in parliamentary deliberation.

Chronologically, the development of the English system falls into three periods:

(1) From the beginning of the war to the establishment of the Statutory Committee at the end of 1915;

(2) The year 1916, during which the Statutory Committee worked out principles of treatment, training and employment, and set up a network of local committees;

(3) From January, 1917, when the Ministry of Pensions was established, to the present time.

First Period: To the End of 1915

Provisions in Force in August, 1914

The scale of pensions for disability which was in force at the outbreak of the war was that laid down in the royal warrant for 1913 and in the corresponding order in council, the executive orders establishing the pay, appointment, promotion, etc., for the army and for the navy respectively. The royal warrant for 1914, which was issued on December 1, made no change in the rates for the army. The scale for non-commissioned officers and men is found in Article 1162 of either warrant.

This article provides that permanent pensions may be granted in case of discharge "on account of wounds or injuries or sunstroke received in action or in the performance of military duty, or on account of blindness caused by military service, or of disease due directly and wholly to war service." For European soldiers of the lowest "class"—troopers, privates, gunners, drivers, sappers and pioneers in the Royal Engineers—the rate per day ranges from 1 shilling 6 pence to 2 shillings 6 pence "if totally incapable of earning a livelihood," and from 6 pence to 1 shilling 6 pence in case of partial incapacity. The maximum

for total disability in the highest class is 3 shillings 6 pence, and the scale for "non-European" soldiers is lower in all classes. Within the prescribed range the pension is to be fixed "according to the degree of the injury suffered, the length of the man's service, his character, and, if wounded, any peculiar circumstances attending his conduct at the time the wound was received." In the case of slight permanent injury a gratuity not exceeding £100 may be awarded in lieu of a pension.

Provision is made also (Articles 1163-1170) for pensions in case of discharge on account of other disabilities than those named in Article 1162, after 14 years' service; for gratuities or temporary pensions, which under certain conditions may be made permanent, in case the length of service has been less than 14 years; and for special campaign pensions.

For officers who have "received a wound in action which has occasioned the loss of an eye, or the use of a limb," gratuities are provided, ranging from £100 for a second lieutenant to £3,500 for a field marshal. Subject to certain conditions permanent pensions may be granted to such officers a year later, ranging from £70 to £400, with "special" rates for a field marshal or a general. An officer, furthermore, may be recommended for a pension or a gratuity "for each limb or eye" of which he has lost the use through wounds received in action. It is also provided that "an officer who has been wounded in action, and has thereby lost an eye, a limb, or a tooth, or sustained any other injury necessitating the use of an artificial appliance, may be granted such sum as our Army Council shall consider sufficient to defray the necessary expense of providing the artificial appliance." (Articles 639-647.)

Administration of these provisions was in the hands of the Board of Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital, where it had been ever since pensions had been given. Chelsea Hospital is the institution founded by Charles II on the model of the Invalides of Paris, to be a refuge for disabled soldiers; and when the practice of giving cash payments as an alternative mode of assistance came into use—at first because there was not room in the Hos-

pital for all the veterans entitled to its shelter—the responsibility for such payments was naturally entrusted to the Chelsea commissioners.

Within the limits set by the royal warrant, the amount of an individual pension was fixed by the commissioners, on the basis of the considerations enumerated above. In addition, since the South African War, it had been within their discretion to add sixpence per day to the pension of a private.

When, early in the war, the War Office asked the Chelsea authorities for their "views" on the existing system, the only change they suggested was that this discretionary sixpence should be made applicable to all ranks of noncommissioned officers and men, instead of being limited to privates. They pointed out that the existing rates had been established in 1864, and that the only modification in the 50 years had been the allowance of this additional sixpence since 1899; so that, as the standard of comfort has undoubtedly risen and the purchasing power of money has declined during the half century, the rates do not "represent today a benefit equivalent to that provided when the scale was fixed in 1864"; but they thought that if the discretionary allowance were applicable to all ranks that would suffice for all ordinary cases, and that "large families" should be helped from some other fund. As to the advisability of discriminating between married and single men in the amount of their pension, the possibility of which had been suggested by the War Office, the board did not think it would be wise to attempt this, because investigation of family circumstances would be "impracticable."[1]

In the navy the disability pensions were administered by the Admiralty, through the authorities of Greenwich Hospital.

In addition to these pensions, soldiers and sailors might be insured in the Army and Navy Insurance Fund. Most of the new army, moreover, had as civilians been insured under the National Health Insurance Act of 1911, which makes insurance compulsory for all whose wages are less than £160 per year, and

[1] Correspondence introduced as testimony before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, see p. 103, below.

were entitled, in case of disability incurred in service, to benefits under that act, which in normal cases would be 10 shillings a week for 26 weeks and 5 shillings a week thereafter as long as they were totally disabled, up to the age of 70. To be eligible for the benefit they must have been insured for 104 weeks and have paid 104 contributions. Men incapacitated before they paid the required number of contributions were allowed to continue to pay until they had made it up. Men who had been insured under the National Health Insurance Act were allowed on enlistment to join the Army and Navy Insurance Fund, in which conditions of payment were a little more favorable, since the army paid half the weekly contribution, as compared with the civil employer's three-sevenths; and the army contribution was accepted as keeping the man insured after that.

First Steps in Parliament

Toward midnight on August 31, 1914, Mr. Hamar Greenwood, who had been trying since 5 o'clock "to get a chance to speak," made a spirited plea in the House of Commons for increasing the rates of separation allowances and of pensions for the disabled and for the dependents of those who should be killed, announcing at the end of his speech: "I intend to keep pounding at the government, . . . I intend to stump the country on it, if necessary, and I intend to vote against the government if necessary." His particular proposal in regard to the disabled was "a minimum of 20 shillings per week as long as the disability lasts." A member for Portsmouth spoke to the same purpose in behalf of sailors, and both pleas were supported by Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke.

A few days later Mr. Barnes asked the Prime Minister "if the government has considered the question of making adequate provision for those crippled, or for the widows of those killed at the front, say, on the basis of the Compensation Act." Mr. Asquith assured him that "These cases will be properly provided for, but certain aspects of the matter are still under consideration." On being pressed further by another member about the basis on

which provision would be made he preferred to postpone any statement, but promised to make one before adjournment. The next day another impatient member put a question to the government about provision for the incapacitated, to which the Under-Secretary of State for War replied soothingly: "In the case of all wounded provision will be made."

Scheme Proposed by the Government

Mr. Asquith was unable to make a statement before adjournment, which was taken on September 18, but when Parliament came together again, on November 11, it had for consideration a memorandum from the government presenting its decisions as to "the main lines" of a scheme of allowances and pensions in respect of seamen, marines, and soldiers, and their wives, widows and dependents."[1]

The sections relating to disability (13-17) proposed that in the lowest grades of both army and navy the minimum allowance for total "disablement" should be 14 shillings a week for unmarried men and 16 shillings 6 pence for married men without children, with corresponding improvements on the existing scale for the higher grades; that these amounts might be increased at the discretion of the authorities, according to the number of dependents and other circumstances, up to a maximum of 23 shillings; that these allowances should be in addition to the sickness or disablement benefits to which insured soldiers and sailors were entitled under the National Health Insurance Act; that the allowances for partial disablement should vary from 3 shillings 6 pence to 17 shillings 6 pence per week, "the amount being determined with regard to reduction of wage earning capacity, number of dependents, and other circumstances"; that payments should be made weekly, and that the administration should continue in the hands of the Admiralty and the Chelsea Hospital authorities.

While these proposals represented a substantial increase over existing provisions, they did not go far enough to satisfy the members of the House who were specially interested in the sub-

[1] White Paper, Cd. 7662.

ject, and certain features in connection with the proposed pensions for widows did not commend themselves, although the Prime Minister assured the House that "No subject has given the government more anxious thought and consideration, and I doubt very much whether the delay that has taken place in regard to the elaboration of the scheme of pensions is one which, to those who are familiar with the facts, is a matter for regret or surprise."

The sentiment of those who were not disposed to accept the government's plan was expressed by Mr. Bonar Law, leader of the Opposition, who said, in the course of the "debate on the address":

> The second cause that has hindered recruiting is the delay and uncertainty as to what the government meant to do for the dependents of the men who are fighting and for the men themselves after the war. . . . The proposals which the government have made do not seem to me now to be adequate. . . . It seems to me that the real way to deal with this question, even now, is to appoint a small committee, a very small one, representative of all parties in the House, who will go into the matter and draw up a plan which the government might accept.

Fuller discussion took place a week later, when the question of the appointment of a Select Committee, as urged by Mr. Bonar Law, was before the House. At the opening of this session (November 18) a petition with 125,000 signatures had been presented: "That this House will be graciously pleased to grant just and generous pensions and allowances to all our soldiers and sailors disabled in this war, also to the widows and other dependents of those who fall in the war." The criticism of the White Paper scheme was directed in the main against what was felt to be an inadequate scale of pensions——"miserably inadequate," said Mr. Barnes. "No man can live on 14 shillings per week, and it means that he is to be a burden to his friends and relatives. If he is going to be a burden to anybody, the burden should be borne on the broad back of the whole community." Labor members held that a pound a week should be the minimum for total disablement.

Lord Hugh Cecil wished to direct "the special attention" of the

proposed committee "to the case of the disabled in addition to the case of the widows and dependents, of whom so much has been said in the course of the discussion." The claim of the disabled, he thought, "should appeal to us with special force. . . . He consumes just as before, but he makes nothing." He often needs expensive treatment and appliances. "Probably there is no case in which money is of more importance than the case of a man who has suffered some injury which requires surgical treatment." Lord Cecil urged two considerations which have since become axiomatic—in theory—but which at that time were still novel: that a man's pension should not be reduced if he improves or tries to earn something; and that assistance should be prompt. On this latter point he says:

> I hope that the assistance to disabled men may be given immediately they leave hospital and come upon their own resources. It is sad that there should be any interval during which they are hanging about expecting something to be done for them, when they do not quite know what is going to be done. I do not think that that is contemplated, but it happens sometimes through defective machinery. Great care should be taken that not the slightest interval is allowed to elapse.

The principle involved in the proposal for partial disability was criticized by both Mr. Barnes and Lord Cecil, who thought that a definite amount should be fixed for specified injuries, as was already done in the case of officers, instead of attempting to gauge the degree to which a man's earning capacity had been diminished by his injury and fixing the amount of his pension on that basis. A permanent administrative body, to have charge of all the pensions and allowances under discussion, replacing the several authorities among which they were distributed, was proposed by the Right Honorable Hayes Fisher, chairman of the executive committee of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, and member of a joint Select Committee of the Lords and Commons which had made a similar recommendation at the time of the Transvaal War.

Appointment of the Select Committee

After considerable discussion of the importance of the problem to be entrusted to the proposed committee, the respects in which the government scheme was unsatisfactory, and the wording of the "reference," it was ordered (November 18, 1914) "that a Select Committee be appointed to consider a scheme of pensions and grants for officers and men in the naval and military services disabled by wounds or disease arising out of the present war, and for the widows, orphans, and dependents of officers and men who have lost their lives, and whether the existing scheme of separation allowances to wives, children and dependents should be amended; and, if so, in what way." The committee was to consist of six members, and it was officially known as the Select Committee on Naval and Military Services (Pensions and Grants).

On the following day the committee was named—an excellent one, it would seem, representative of various interests and points of view, and well prepared to handle the subjects entrusted to it, though there was complaint, when their report came to be discussed six months later, that so pressing a matter should have been left to the "six busiest men in the House." It was described by the Marquis of Crewe in the House of Lords the next summer, on introducing the measure due to its work, as "both personally and in its representative capacity as strong a committee as the House of Commons could produce. It included the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, and his successor in that office, Mr. McKenna;[1] it also included a former Chancellor of the Exchequer in the person of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and the then leader of the Opposition, Mr. Bonar Law; the other members were Mr. Barnes, representing to the fullest extent the Labor Party in the House of Commons, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor, representing the Irish Party."

[1] Who at the time of his appointment on this committee was the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Testimony before the Committee

The committee held many meetings and examined twenty or more persons whose experiences or ideas were of value, but in looking through the volume of testimony it is impossible not to sympathize with the disagreeable member of the House (the same one who thought it unfortunate that the committee was made up of such busy men) that there must have been "a great deal of experience in the country" which the committee "did not get." On the question of provision for disability—which, it must be remembered, was only a part, and really a subordinate part, of the committee's concern—the witnesses of greatest interest to us, for different reasons, were Mr. Hayes Fisher, Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, and Sir Charles Crutchley.

Sir Charles Crutchley, secretary of the Board of Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital, did not say much, but his testimony opens vistas to the official point of view which help us to visualize the system in operation at the beginning of the war, and indeed for many months afterward. His letter to the War Office, which has been referred to above, is introduced as part of his evidence, and also another letter written by him after the publication of the White Paper scheme, in which the commissioners protested again, in language as emphatic as was consistent with their dignity, against the proposed introduction of a new consideration in awarding pensions. "Up to the present," he wrote, "the commissioners have been required to pay regard only to the degree of disablement affecting earning capacity arising from wound, injury or disease, the length of service and character of the soldier himself, and any peculiar circumstances attending his conduct when wounded. . . . For the first time in the history of army pensions the number of dependents of a soldier are to be taken into consideration in the assessment of his rate of pension." Not only would this necessitate the adoption of a precise definition of "dependent," but "it is open to doubt whether under the new regulations the soldier would not find more ground for dissatisfaction than at present, for he would

never know whether the award had been made on the degree of his personal injury or on some estimate of his family circumstances to which he might feel disposed to take exception. Indeed, a mistake in his records as to his family or their dependence would react on his pension, and injustice might thereby unwittingly be done to the soldier." Sir Charles foresaw with dismay a necessity for revising the pension from time to time, to keep pace with variations in the number of dependents.

The most serious innovation proposed, however, from his point of view, was the introduction of weekly rates in place of the daily rates of the last 50 years. This would make a "tremendous complication"; it would necessitate "two sets of books." Weekly payment seems not to have been the insuperable difficulty, though the custom had been to pay by the quarter, but rather the confusion involved in dealing with calculations on the two bases.

Mr. Seebohm Rowntree argued for the principle which unfortunately was to be incorporated by the committee in its proposals with respect to pensions for partial disability, and which had figured in the White Paper scheme, that the pension should supplement the man's earnings, bringing his income from the two sources up to the amount of the pension for total disability. He thought, however, that there should be a minimum payment according to a fixed scale for specified injuries, in recognition of what he called the "personal inconvenience" of losing an arm or a leg or an eye, even if the man could "go right back to his old position"; but that over and above this minimum the pension should be increased until the sum of pension and earnings amounted to the same as the pension for total disability. For total disability he thought the amount should be the same as for a widow, with an additional five shillings per week in consideration of the additional cost of having the man at home.

Mr. Hayes Fisher, who had been chairman of the executive committee of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation since 1907, presented a memorandum of the history and current work of the Corporation, which together with his testimony was largely responsible for the recommendation that a Statutory Committee

be appointed to meet the needs not provided for by the system of pensions and grants and allowances. It is of historical interest that Mr. Hayes Fisher urged on the committee a plan for concentrating in a single authority the administration of all military and naval pensions, as he had suggested previously in the House and on other occasions, and as he was to have further opportunity to urge in the future.

The Committee's Reports

The committee made its recommendations in three special reports. The first, submitted on January 30, 1915, proposed an increased scale of pensions and allowances, including disablement pensions, for "men" and their dependents, reserving recommendations in regard to officers for a further report; also, that "some body," either an existing organization reorganized and strengthened, or a new body to be specially created for the purpose, should have certain discretionary powers with regard to pensions for dependents at the end of six months after the man's death and with regard to supplementary grants in all cases; and recommended the employment of ex-soldiers and ex-sailors in government service "wherever it may be possible."

The second special report, dated April 14, 1915, recommended that the "special body" referred to in the previous report should be a "Statutory Committee" of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation.

The third and last, which was not submitted until September 3, dealt with pensions and grants to disabled officers and officers' widows, orphans, and dependents, recommending increases in the case of junior officers and modifications of existing regulations in other respects, chiefly in the direction of systematizing and harmonizing them.

Increased Pensions and Allowances

The scale of pensions and allowances depended on administrative action. Questions were asked occasionally in the House of Commons as to when the new rates would go into effect, but they were not discussed. The increased rates for separation

allowances took effect March 1, 1915. The new scale for disability pensions did not go into operation until later (May 21, 1915; Army Order 212), but arrears were paid as from March 1.

The paragraphs embodying the recommendations of the committee with respect to the rates for disability pensions are in its first special report and read as follows:

15. The rate of pension for total disablement can not be considered without regard to disablement benefit under the National Health Insurance Act. Your committee had in mind the grant of a pension of 20 shillings a week in addition to this benefit, but it has been pointed out to them that all sailors and soldiers would not be entitled to disablement benefit under the Insurance Act. We recommend therefore that a pension of 25 shillings a week should be given by the state, societies and funds under the Insurance Act being relieved of the charge of 5 shillings a week in respect to such of their members as would receive disablement benefit, but remaining liable for the other benefits due under the act and for the difference between the 5 shillings a week of which we propose to relieve them, and the sickness benefit, generally 10 shillings a week, given under the act for the first six months of incapacity.

16. The rates for partial disablement should be such proportion of the above rate of 25 shillings as will, with the wages which the claimant may be deemed to be capable of earning, amount to 25 shillings, but in no case less than 10 shillings 6 pence a week for the loss of a limb or an eye.

17. Temporary allowances should be given in cases of temporary disablement, and appeals may be made against awards in the case of partial disablement after 12 months and at the end of every succeeding 12 months.

18. If a sailor's or soldier's earning capacity is totally impaired each of his children should receive during the period of such impairment a weekly allowance of 2 shillings 6 pence. In case of partial impairment allowances not exceeding 2 shillings 6 pence a week for each child may be granted.

The new pension for total disablement was, then, 25 shillings with an additional allowance of 2 shillings 6 pence for each child; for partial disablement, "such amount as with the wages which the man may be deemed to be capable of earning will amount to 25 shillings a week, but in no case less than 10 shillings 6 pence a week for the loss of a limb or an eye," together with discretionary additions not exceeding 2 shillings 6 pence for each child. This was a substantial increase over the scale proposed in the White Paper, which in turn was much more favorable, especially for married men with children, than the rates in force

at the beginning of the war, and it equalized the rates as between sailors and soldiers. It was five shillings a week more than the standard set up earlier by the members of the Labor Party, and Mr. McKenna was no doubt "justified," as he hoped he was, "in saying that the House as a whole accepted the scale recommended by the committee, and that the scale has been considered by the country as fair and reasonable." On the other hand, in making the pension for partial disablement dependent on "the wages which the man may be deemed to be capable of earning," a feature was introduced which was destined to cause a great deal of trouble.

It was proposed in this report (paragraph 13), as has already been mentioned, that "some body," which should be specified later, should have certain discretionary powers with reference to the needs of dependents. In paragraph 19 it is suggested that voluntary funds be "invited" to supplement the state pensions and allowances in cases where they do not meet the needs, and that a scale of such supplementary grants should be fixed by the "body" referred to in paragraph 13:

19. The increase in the government scales which we propose will in many cases relieve existing voluntary funds. We suggest that the Prince of Wales's Fund and any other local funds should be invited to supplement the government rates of allowances and pensions where it appears to be desirable to do so, having regard to all the circumstances of the case. The scale on which such supplementary payments should be made and the fixing of a maximum not to be exceeded in any individual case would be a matter for the committee of the funds concerned, but in order to secure uniformity throughout the country we recommend that the scale of grants should be fixed by the body to which we refer in paragraph 13, the grants being administered through the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association or such other local committees as the above mentioned body may think fit.

The recommendation in regard to the employment of ex-soldiers and ex-sailors in government service reads as follows:

23. We recommend that, wherever it may be possible to employ old sailors or soldiers or their widows in government service, this should be done, and that in such circumstances their remuneration should be fixed without regard to any pension they may receive.

The "Special Body"

In the second special report of the committee it was recommended that the "special body" referred to in the first report should be a Statutory Committee of the Royal Patriotic Corporation. The Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, to use its legal title, had originated at the time of the Crimean War, as the Royal Patriotic Commissioners. At the time of the South African War it was made a corporation, and Parliament entrusted to it various funds raised for the benefit of soldiers' families. Around this recommendation and the bill which was introduced to carry it into effect, a long and animated discussion was waged, in both Houses. The original recommendation was as follows:

1. We recommend that the special body referred to in paragraphs 13 and 19 of our first report to which certain duties are assigned should be the Royal Patriotic Corporation, reconstituted in accordance with the provisions of a bill to be presented to Parliament.

2. We propose that a Statutory Committee of the Corporation should be appointed, consisting of twenty-five members, of whom five shall form a quorum. Of these twenty-five, twelve shall be appointed by the Crown, of whom one shall be chairman, two shall be representatives of labor, and not less than two shall be women. In making these appointments, regard shall be had to the proper representation on the whole committee of the several component parts of the United Kingdom. There shall be further appointed a representative of the Treasury, a financial representative of the Admiralty and a financial representative of the War Office. Of the remaining ten members, six shall be appointed by the General Council of the Corporation, not less than two being women; two by the governing body of the National Relief Fund, and two by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association. We propose that the chairman shall be paid out of public funds.

3. We recommend further that local advisory bodies or committees should be created. Every county, borough, and urban district council which desires to set up a local committee should frame a scheme for the constitution of the committee. Every scheme should be submitted for approval by the Statutory Committee, and should provide that the chairman and one-half of the remaining members of the committee should be appointed by the county, borough, or district council, though not necessarily from amongst its own members. The Statutory Committee should appoint two members on every local committee, and provision should be made in every scheme for the appointment of not less than two women.

4. The functions of the Statutory Committee should be mainly as follows:

First.—To decide questions of fact in regard to pensions payable out of public funds to dependents other than wives and children. The scale of payment to such dependents will be determined by the finding of the committee, and the payment itself will be made, as in the case of separation allowances and all other pensions payable out of funds provided by the state, direct by the naval and military authorities. The Statutory Committee may use the local advisory bodies to collect information, and to make recommendations, but will retain final responsibility for the decision in every case.

Second.—In proper cases to supplement out of voluntary funds of a national character the separation allowances and pensions paid by the state. The scale of supplementary grants should be fixed in accordance with settled principles, uniform over the whole country. When convenient these grants may be paid through local committees.

Third.—To decide in a judicial capacity questions relating to forfeiture and claims to pensions and separation allowances which are in dispute between two or more claimants.

Principles Underlying the Committee's Recommendations

There was some anxiety over the "special body" recommended by the committee, from the moment that the report was before the House, and a demand was made that it should not be set up until there had been a chance for discussion. On May 18, 1915, the opportunity was given, on the motion "that this House approves of the reports of the Select Committee on Naval and Military Services (Pensions and Grants)." In the absence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, Mr. McKenna, a member of the committee, introduced the discussion by explaining the principles on which the committee had based its recommendations.

At the outbreak of the war, he said, "the whole scale, both of pensions and allowances, was obviously inadequate for the conditions of a war such as the present," in which the army is made up of men from every class and occupation, most of whom take up arms only as a temporary necessity, and it was realization of this situation that had led to the increases by departmental action which were proposed in the White Paper. In the discussion of these proposals on November 18 "there was no doubt that the sentiment of the honorable members in every quarter of the House was that . . . something more ought to be done,"

and this feeling had resulted in the appointment of the Select Committee.

As for the first recommendations,

> it may be said that the report of the committee presented to the House on 2d February was made the basis of complete departmental action, and the findings of the committee have already been carried into effect. . . . The rates paid are far in excess of any rate hitherto paid in this country, and are very much in excess of any rates now paid by any of the great combatant countries of this war.
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> The committee after a very full consideration decided upon the principle that grants made by the state out of public funds must be on a flat rate, and that the scale should bear some relation to the standard of living in the country. We felt that as a soldier every man ("Of the same rank," corrected an honorable member) every man of the same rank was to be treated alike. Every man offers the same services and runs the same risks. It was felt, moreover, . . . that administrative simplicity is essential in order to minimize delay. That was the ground, put very shortly, on which the committee determined that, so far as public funds were concerned, we ought to recommend to this House a flat rate both of allowances and pensions.
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> But it was impossible for the committee to disregard a very large body of evidence that was brought before it, that the sacrifice which enlistment entailed upon the family which was left at home varied very much in degree. The absence, the incapacity, the death of the bread-winner might bring far more havoc and suffering into the family in one case than in another, and we thought that it would be right and proper that a formal recognition should be made by the committee of the existence of this different degree of sacrifice . . . and that we should recommend to this House that out of a fund not voted by this House but of a public nature, or by new voluntary subscriptions, an effort should be made to equalize, so far as it was possible, the degree of sacrifice which was entailed upon every family. . . . The committee accordingly . . . made their recommendation for the constitution of a body which, with the assistance of local committees, should administer these supplementary grants.

The constitution of this body had been "a matter which presented very great difficulty." "We sought to build up a new body out of many constituent parts, the principal one of which is the Royal Patriotic Corporation. We had in that corporation the example of an excellent institution which has done a great deal of public work with the approval of the country, and we thought we could not do better than look in the main" to it. But "We look not only to the Patriotic Corporation. . . . I confess that we had our eye on the money, and we looked to the

possibility of some financial assistance being obtained from the National Relief Fund, and we provided in our proposals that representatives of the National Relief Fund should be included in this new Statutory Committee. . . . We looked also to another body which has done very good work in connection with these matters, and that is the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, and we propose to have two members of that body as members of the Statutory Committee. We have provided also for the representation of two women on the committee and two representatives of labor."

What the committee was now asking was "the approval of the House to the general principles. . . . There is no great Department of State with a long experience and a long history behind it, able to bring out from its pigeon-holes proposals which have received the consideration of successive Ministers of State, as is the case in an ordinary departmental matter. . . . We have to look to the collective wisdom of the House."

If such a body commends itself to the House, "We propose . . . that certain other functions should be handed over to it, which, in ordinary circumstances, might be administered by the War Office and the Admiralty." These are the determination of questions of fact in regard to dependents other than wives and children, for it was felt to be "undesirable that a public department should be subjected to continual pressure" in individual cases from "constituents and other interested parties."

On the recommendation in regard to local committees, Mr. McKenna said that there had been much pressure on the committee to designate some of the existing local bodies, such as the Old Age Pensions Committees, but the decision had been that there should be opportunity for the localities to take local conditions into account. The utilization of an Old Age Pensions Committee as a nucleus in a locality that so desired was not excluded. Within certain limits it was open to any locality to set up the body which would be most effective in view of all circumstances, while the proviso that every scheme must be approved by the

Statutory Committee guarded against undue diversity and any bizarre tendencies.

Report of the "Murray Committee"

A fortnight before this the departmental committee of the Local Government Board, which had been appointed on February 16 "to consider and report upon the methods to be adopted for providing employment for soldiers and sailors disabled in the war," had made its report, and a copy had been presented to the House of Commons. While this report was not before the House for action, it was within the cognizance of the members at this time. It colored the discussion to some extent and led to the introduction of additional features into the bill for establishing the Statutory Committee when that came to be drafted, and for these reasons it is appropriate that we should consider it at this point.

The departmental committee is popularly referred to as the "Murray Committee," from the name of its chairman, the Right Honorable Sir George H. Murray, G.C.B. It was a very able group. The other members were: W. H. Beveridge, Major General Sir Charles Crutchley, George Franklin, Arthur Henderson, M.P., J. Hodge, M.P., Patrick O'Brien, M.P., C. E. Price, M.P., F. Pullinger, C.B., Leslie Scott, K.C., M.P., R. Russell Scott, A. V. Symonds; "to which was added on February 19, the Right Honorable Lord Sandhurst, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E." Mr. Henry J. Comyns was the secretary of the committee.

The task of this committee was much more limited than that of the Select Committee of the House. They were to report on methods "for providing employment" for disabled soldiers and sailors. When they came to consider this problem, however, they faced the preliminary problem of getting the disabled man in a condition to be employable, and so the report[1] is really an outline of what is necessary to restore the disabled man to the degree of economic independence of which he is capable.

[1] Printed among the Parliamentary Papers under the number Cd. 7915, and reprinted in *The American Journal of Care for Cripples,* Vol. IV, p. 212.

It is a model document, and has been widely quoted. The public estimate of it was expressed by one of the members of the House of Lords, when he said: "A more concise, definite, unambiguous report, expressing as it does the unanimous mind of an exceptionally strong committee, well equipped for the work entrusted to it, I have never read."

At the very beginning of its report, merely pausing in paragraph 1 to outline the scope of its inquiry, the committee expresses its theory that the state is responsible for the restoration of the disabled men to the degree of health and economic independence which is possible for them:

2. At the outset we desire to express our opinion that the care of the sailors and soldiers who have been disabled in the war is an obligation which should fall primarily upon the state; and that this liability can not be considered as having been extinguished by the award of a pension from public funds. We regard it as the duty of the state to see that the disabled man shall be, as far as possible, restored to health, and that assistance shall be forthcoming to enable him to earn his living in the occupation best suited to his circumstances and physical condition.

3. We ought, however, to add that, in expressing this view, we are far from wishing to exclude or discourage the very valuable assistance which may be rendered voluntarily by persons and associations who take an interest in the welfare of our sailors and soldiers. While the primary responsibility for the care of those who have suffered in the service of the country rests with the state, the best results of the action of the latter can only be secured with the cooperation and assistance of the other agencies to which we have referred.

Suggestions are made for improving the existing practice with respect to the several classes of disabled men for whom restoration to health seems to be practicable:

7. Under present arrangements, the naval and military authorities assume responsibility for the medical or surgical treatment of the disabled man, until he is discharged from the service as unfit; but their responsibility for the provision of treatment ceases on discharge, and it rests with the medical officers under whose care the man has been placed, to decide whether the patient is fit for discharge and, if so, to set in motion the necessary machinery.

This decision is often taken as soon as it has become clear that the man will not be able to return to active service, and without much regard to the question whether his health or his physical condition can be improved by further treatment.

8. We suggest that the state should take a liberal view of its duties in this respect, and that it should assume the responsibility for the treatment of the disabled sailor or soldier and his restoration to health, when practicable.

9. There are several classes of disabled men to whom this suggestion is applicable:

(a) Those who, upon discharge from hospital, require prolonged or special after-treatment, in order to render them fit to resume a civil occupation.

Heart disease, rheumatism, stiff joints, and similar disabilities are here intended, for which electrical treatment or massage is suitable, and it is thought that free treatment should be provided for as long as necessary, and also upon a recurrence of the condition.

(b) Those whose disability is due to tuberculous disease,

in many of which cases the disease has been detected at a very early stage and the prospect of cure is therefore favorable. Some measure of special care is already being provided for such cases, prior to discharge, in special wards of the royal naval hospitals, in the military hospitals, and sometimes in civil sanatoria. Many of them are insured under the National Insurance Act of 1911 and are eligible upon discharge for sanatorium benefit, and the Insurance Commissioners had made arrangements to insure their prompt admission.

Where, however, the tuberculous sailor or soldier is not eligible for sanatorium benefit under the National Insurance Act, we suggest that the responsibility for the cost of his treatment in a residential institution should be undertaken by the state and should be continued until he is either cured or declared to be incurable.

(c) Those who are mentally affected.

No definite recommendations are made as to how these cases should be treated, except that

The extreme measure of detention in an asylum should only be taken when it is clear that treatment in a hospital or other institution is unavailing, or that the patient can not be retained in such an institution without danger to himself or others.

(d) Those who, owing to the loss of limbs or to other cause, require surgical appliances to fit them for the resumption of civil employment.

Present practice, which supplies any appliances recommended by the medical officer in charge of the case on discharge from the army or the navy, is "sufficiently liberal," but "we are disposed to think that sufficient advantage has not been taken of the special knowledge and skill which are now available" through the "marked advance in orthopedic surgery during the past few years," and for this reason it is recommended that the appliance be prescribed by "an orthopedic surgeon of repute," who should have regard "to the requirements of the individual and the occupation which he intended to follow."

> The services of more than one consulting surgeon will be required for the purpose; and inasmuch as the bulk of the men will have been discharged from hospital before they are in a fit condition to bear artificial appliances, it will be necessary to arrange that the services of an orthopedic surgeon should be available within a convenient distance of their homes.

Turning now from the problem of restoring the disabled man, as far as possible, to physical health, "so as to enable him to earn his living," the committee proceeds to consider "in what way employment should be found for him when he stands in need of such assistance, and how training can be provided when it becomes necessary for him to learn a new trade." Many of the men, it is premised, will no doubt be able to resume their former occupation and will be absorbed in the ordinary labor market. The others "should be given an opportunity of learning a new trade."

> 12. Such training should, we think, be provided as far as possible in the locality where the man resides. As a general rule it would probably be undesirable to set up special institutions . . . ; but if any institution already existing can be utilized for the purpose this course should be followed.

Two reasons are given for this: that the need for training will diminish year by year after the close of the war, and it would be inadvisable to make large investments for a temporary purpose; and because central training institutions would "involve the removal of the disabled person to the vicinity of the

institution during the period of training, and would frequently result in separation from his wife and family."

13. We think it is probable that training of the kind to which we refer might to some extent be undertaken in London and the larger provincial towns by the local education authority, by means of the existing polytechnics, technical institutes, and trade schools. In this case it would be very desirable, if not essential, that the nature of the employment, for which a particular man was to be trained, should be determined by some responsible authority before the commencement of the course, and that the prospect of a vacancy being available upon the completion of the training, should be carefully examined beforehand.

14. We suggest that the cooperation of the local education authorities should be invited and that, where the authority is in a position to provide the training necessary for disabled sailors and soldiers residing in the area, this course should be adopted. In default of the local education authority, any private institution which may be in a position to afford such training as may be needed should be utilized in preference to the establishment of a special institution.

It ought, perhaps, to be stated that, in our view, a man should not be regarded as disqualified for training, merely because he is classed for purposes of pension as "totally disabled."

15. An alternative course to the provision of training in an institution would be to apprentice the disabled person to an employer, who might be willing to train the man. This method would, however, only be feasible in isolated cases, but such a scheme might be useful in a locality in which no training institution was available.

16. As regards the provision of employment, we think that this duty should be undertaken by the central and local organizations, whose appointment is recommended below. These bodies would work in close cooperation with the labor exchanges, through which a comprehensive organization is supplied for dealing in every district with any disabled man who may desire to avail himself of it.

Arrangements should be made for registering every disabled man, on or before his discharge from hospital, at the labor exchange of the district to which he is going. This could be done by means of a form to be filled up for him in hospital shortly before his discharge, showing the district in which he proposed to reside, the occupation which he desired to follow, and the name of his former employer if in that district.

To provide for the varied and extensive responsibilities thus outlined it is recommended that a central committee be appointed, acting under the direction of some existing department of government and charged with the duty of providing suitable assistance through the appropriate department—the National

Health Insurance Joint Committee, the Home Office, the Local Government Board, the Admiralty or the War Office, the Board of Education and local education authorities, the Board of Trade through the labor exchanges—or directly, in the comparatively small number of cases which would not fall within the scope of any existing public department.

This central committee should include representatives of the departments likely to be concerned, and also of employers, labor organizations, and the existing voluntary agencies for obtaining employment for discharged sailors and soldiers. There should be branch committees for Scotland and Ireland, and local committees should be appointed in any place where the probable number of men likely to require attention makes that desirable, though it is not thought necessary to do this at the outset except in London and a few of the larger towns.

The functions of this central authority (limited of course to the period following discharge from the army or navy) are stated in paragraph 22:

(a) To arrange for the care and treatment of all disabled sailors and soldiers, immediately on their discharge, with the view of restoring them to health when possible, and enabling them to earn their own living.

(b) To obtain early information of approaching discharges from hospital, and to arrange for the registration of every disabled man who was capable of work, with the labor exchange of the district to which he was going.

(c) To communicate with public departments with the view of obtaining employment therein for such disabled men as could properly be appointed to vacancies.

(d) To organize public or private appeals to employers in order to secure their good will in filling any vacancies which were suitable for disabled men.

(e) To appoint local committees (where necessary), or local representatives, to assist the committee generally in the performance of its duties, and especially in finding employment and negotiating with employers.

(f) To organize and assist schemes for training men who were desirous of obtaining technical instruction to fit them for skilled occupations; and to arrange for their maintenance during the period of training.

(g) To consider and deal with schemes for employing disabled men in agriculture and the industries allied with it.

(h) To arrange for the emigration of men who were desirous of settling in other parts of the empire.

The possibility is suggested that such an organization as outlined might be utilized for the purpose of dealing with the employment of ex-sailors and ex-soldiers of all kinds, the able-bodied as well as the disabled. This, however, is outside the committee's "reference," and "is only mentioned in this place because it seems to us almost impossible to contemplate the establishment of two unconnected organizations" for the two closely allied purposes. The committee does, however, "venture to suggest" that the Statutory Committee recommended by the Select Committee on Naval and Military Services (Pensions and Grants) might advantageously be charged with the functions discussed in this report, and that if such an arrangement were made "a more elaborate local organization than we have recommended for the purpose of this report might be justified."

Various schemes had been placed before the committee for settling disabled men on the land, but because of their tentative character no opinion is expressed on any of them. The subject is considered of great importance, and is commended for consideration by the central committee whose appointment is recommended.

Having understood that difficulties in inducing employers to use partially disabled men were "apprehended" because of their liability under the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906, the committee had "thought it right" to make special inquiry on this point, and had been assured that no such difficulty need be feared in the case of employers insured against this liability, since, so far as the insurance companies included in the Accident Offices Association are concerned, the ordinary premium covers all classes of employes, and only in very exceptional cases is any additional premium charged on account of physical disability. The committee thought, therefore, that only uninsured employers would be likely to make any objection on this score to employing disabled men, and they would be men in a small way of business.

In closing, the "urgency of the questions" into which the committee had inquired—the importance of establishing a new organization "for the performance of the duties which we regard

as properly falling to the state in relation to those who have suffered in its service," and of getting the new organization into working order as quickly as possible—is pressed upon the attention of the board, and the following summary of the committee's recommendations is appended:

(a) The care of the sailors and soldiers disabled in the war is a duty which should be assumed by the state.

(b) This duty should include:

The restoration of the man's health, where practicable.

The provision of training facilities, if he desires to learn a new trade.

The finding of employment for him, when he stands in need of such assistance.

(c) For the discharge of these duties a central committee should be appointed, and empowered to act, either through the agency of the appropriate public department, or independently, as the case may require.

(d) The central committee should have the assistance of subcommittees for Ireland and Scotland, and local committees in any part of the United Kingdom, where the circumstances justified the establishment of such an organization.

Discussion in the House of Commons

Returning now to the House of Commons, which we left just after the principles embodied in the recommendations of the Select Committee had been explained by Mr. Secretary McKenna, it is clear that the House was far from enthusiastic for them.

The desirability of having a single authority to deal with the whole business of pensions was referred to by more than one member. There was considerable dissatisfaction with the proposal to leave supplementary assistance of all kinds to voluntary contributions, both because it was felt that this was an evasion of a state obligation and because it was feared that sufficient voluntary contributions would not be forthcoming, in view of the large amounts which had already been subscribed to the National Relief Fund. The position of the committee that "at this moment it is right that private funds should contribute to this object" and that parliamentary aid should only be sought "in the last resort" was not convincing to all. Several maintained that since a "proper" flat rate, by which was meant apparently one which would provide for the case of maximum

need, would require such an immense sum that it could not be considered practicable, the state should at least set aside a large amount out of public funds—a capital sum of £5,000,000 was a figure suggested—to be used in supplementing the flat rate, without any concern as to whether it would "dry up" private sources of assistance.

It was thought by some that the proposals of the committee should go farther toward providing for the needs of disabled men. One member urged that the partially disabled "ought to be protected from ordinary labor and that special work ought to be provided for him, and that he should receive extra care and attention from the state," both for his own sake and in the interest of "ordinary workers, on the ground that conditions of employment ought not to be beaten down by the competition of partially disabled men." Another, with a military title, referred to the recommendation that government posts be reserved for ex-soldiers and sailors, and hoped that assurance would be given that at least 75 per cent would be so reserved, because "a strong lead from the government" was needed to influence public opinion in the right direction. Dr. McNamara, Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, foresaw that the proposals for determining pensions for partial disability would be "difficult to put into practice." After several hours of debate, however, the reports were approved in principle.

When the bill for establishing the Statutory Committee was brought in, it was found that the recommendations of the Murray Committee had been recognized to the extent of adding representatives of the Local Government Board and of the National Health Insurance Joint Committee to the membership of the Statutory Committee, and by including among the functions of the committee

> to make provision for the care of disabled officers and men after they have left the service, including provision for their health, training, and employment.

The bill also stated, more concretely and more precisely than the report, the functions of the Statutory Committee and the

functions and method of establishment of the local committees. In place of "voluntary funds of a national character" the phrase "funds at their disposal" was used.

The criticisms which are of special interest to us related to the financial provisions, the composition and nature of the local committees, and the character of the proposed central authority itself. It was foreseen by some that difficulties would arise from entrusting state functions to a body of the anomalous character of the proposed Statutory Committee, not responsible to any minister and thus not officially represented in the House. An amendment placing it "under the direction of the Local Government Board" was suggested to meet this difficulty, in order that there might be "some one directly responsible who can be addressed in the House of Commons," but it did not prevail over the government sentiment that there should be some machinery "outside government departments altogether which would, of course, have more heart than government departments are ever allowed to have, or ought to have, and more knowledge, experience and leisure with which to deal with all those questions."

The objection to the local committees was that there was no justification for creating a new set of local committees when the Old Age Pensions Committees already existed, and, as one member put it, "'Old Age' could be easily eliminated from the title . . . ; you could call it 'Pension Committee.'" Those who favored the creation of new bodies held, while referring with true parliamentary appreciation to the excellent work of the Old Age Pensions Committees, that they were "not representative enough," and that for the purposes under discussion people were needed who have been used to doing "this kind of thing." It was hoped that the local committees would "vie with one another."

More vigorous was the criticism of the financial aspects of the bill. The chairman and vice chairman were to receive salaries out of the public treasury, but salaries for the rest of the staff and all the expenses of the supplementary grants and

of performing the other duties placed upon the committee were to be met "out of funds at their disposal." The honorable members would not be fooled like that. "Where is the money to come from?" was asked again and again. "You are going to pay a chairman and vice chairman out of public funds at a time when everybody is crying out 'economy,' and this for a committee which, in my judgment, has got no powers whatsoever worthy of the name. You are going to flood the country with a series of local committees to do, what?—to give out funds at their disposal. Where are those funds to come from?" Again, referring to the clause requiring the Statutory Committee "to make provision for the care of disabled officers and men": "I wonder how that is done without money? They have not got a brass farthing. The whole bill is a sham and a humbug. There is nothing in it from first to last as to how the Statutory Committee can make that provision."

It was pointed out that the National Relief Fund, popularly known as the Prince of Wales's Fund, on which the committee had admitted it was relying to furnish at least the basis of the voluntary funds which would be needed, had been raised for the relief of "civil distress" due to the war, and it was questioned whether it could be made available for many of the purposes under discussion, as, for example, for training disabled men. The Royal Patriotic Corporation itself had no funds at its disposal which were not already "allocated." At length the government gave assurance that public funds would be made available if private contributions were not forthcoming, but that they did not want to "dry up" the sources of voluntary subscription. Equally unequivocal was the dissatisfaction with the scope of the proposed provision for disabled men, as compared with the recommendations of the Murray Report. Mr. Price and Mr. Hodge especially, who had been members of the Departmental Committee, were exceedingly disappointed. Mr. Price moved to omit the paragraph altogether, if those "three lines" represented all that could be done. "Is that all the House is going to do for these men when they come back? If this bill goes to the country

as the last word that this House has to say to the disabled soldier when he comes back, it will create a perfect scandal."

Several thought that the matter of training and employment of the disabled should be entrusted to a distinct body created for that purpose alone, or perhaps combining the duty of placing back in civil life the demobilized soldiers who were not disabled, as had been hinted at in the Murray Report. The Statutory Committee, at any rate, would have all it could do with its other duties, and this constituted in itself a big task: "We shall, I think, inevitably hear more of this problem." It was argued that training and employment is a duty of the nation, and should not be left to private funds, and there was some disposition to "insist that a proper bill shall be brought in dealing with this subject."

Mr. McKenna explained that he had consulted with Sir George Murray and had agreed to embody the purposes of both committees in the bill which he should bring in, but he did not say that this clause had been accepted by Sir George Murray as satisfactory. Mr. Hayes Fisher, who by this time had become Parliamentary Secretary for the Local Government Board, and was in charge of the bill for the government, disposed of all criticisms by insisting that he had carefully read the Murray Report and that every one of the suggestions it contained was "covered in those three very pregnant lines."

The malcontents were not convinced on any of these points, but the bill finally passed, on July 20, apparently because of the length of time that had already elapsed since the appointment of the committee, the urgency of the subject, and despair at the prospect of securing a better measure. The delay had been "a great trial to a very large number of people in the constituencies."

The principal amendment relating to the points which have been considered was one providing that either the chairman or the vice chairman might be paid a salary out of the public treasury, but not both. The requirement that "two" women should be appointed on the committee was changed to "some," on the theory that when a minimum is specified it tends to

become a maximum, and all agreed that the duties entrusted to the new body were of a kind for which women were peculiarly adapted. Other amendments were made, and there was much discussion on other aspects of the bill which are not within the scope of our particular inquiry.

At the last moment, just as the bill was to have its third reading, Mr. McKenna came in to announce that he had learned that the National Relief Fund was not willing to turn over to any other body the money that had been entrusted to them, and that it would therefore be desirable to strike out the provision that two members of the Statutory Committee be appointed by the National Relief Fund and two by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, which acted as its disbursing agent. Thus, even before the bill was passed, the chief hope of the committee for the "voluntary funds of a national character" which were to enable the Statutory Committee to do its work had disappeared.

Discussion in the House of Lords

When the bill reached the House of Lords, on July 21, it was introduced by Lord Crewe in the cordial words we have quoted elsewhere, and he mentioned that "in another place it underwent an amount of discussion which for these times when discussions are scarce was long and conducted with considerable vivacity." The measure was scrutinized with the greatest interest and received most conscientious consideration, with the result that it was drastically amended.

By a quirk of reasoning or by a mood—unexpected, whichever it was—the noble lords took the position of the radical members of the other House. They did not approve the voluntary character of the Statutory Committee. They thought that the "whole basis" of the bill had been cut away by the decision of the National Relief Fund. They did not see why the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation should be brought in, when they had stated that all their funds were allocated, and they could not therefore give any financial help. The creation of the new

body was a slight on the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, which had been doing such valuable work all these months. Then there was "not one single coin of any size, sort, or description" provided to do the work assigned to the new committee. A Pensions Board established by the government was what was needed. In a word, state responsibility was the key-note of the discussion.

So they amended the bill first by omitting "of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation" from the name of the new body, which thus became merely a "Statutory Committee"—inferentially, of the Houses of Parliament. They brought back the provision for representation of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association. They increased the number to be appointed by the Crown and left out representatives of the Local Government Board and of the National Health Insurance Joint Committee, and, in consequence of the first amendment, took away representation from the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation.

Then they thoroughly overhauled all the provisions about the local committees and the functions of the central body—improving them greatly, as the House of Commons later admitted.

Finally, they changed the short title which Parliament considerately provides for every-day use in the last paragraph of its acts from "Naval and Military War Pensions, etc., Bill, 1915" to "War Pensions, Help to Disabled Men, etc., Bill," because the former did not properly suggest the importance which help for the disabled had in their minds.

Having done all this—almost breathlessly, it seems, certainly with a great sense of urgency and of their responsibility—it was pointed out to them by Lord Crewe, Lord President of the Council, who apparently was dismayed to realize the significance of what had been done, that the changes they had made were much greater than would appear on a superficial examination. They had "in fact brought about a reversal of the principle on which the bill was framed and on which it passed through the House of Commons." As it now stood the responsible body

ceased to be in the main a private corporation; the national exchequer became responsible.

That, however, was just what they had wanted. They stood by what they had done, and decided to return it as it was, with such further amendments as were needed to make it "more shipshape and coherent." Among these was one which completed the transformation of the measure. They changed the name "Statutory Committee" to "War Pensions Board," in order to provide "a more parliamentary description" of the contemplated body, and then improved that to "War Allowances Board," on reflection that "pensions" did not cover all the forms of assistance which were contemplated.

Some members still thought the wisest policy would be for the government to withdraw the bill and bring in one in accordance with the Murray Report, which had evidently been highly appreciated in the upper chamber, but the bill went back to the Commons in its transfigured aspect.

The Lords' Amendments in the House of Commons

With carefully controlled annoyance, Mr. McKenna, now become Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced to the House, on October 14, that "in another place" the character of the bill had been entirely changed." "When it got to another place an entirely new set of ideas was brought to bear" upon it. In its present form it sought to constitute a new government authority to deal with pensions. He admitted that "if we had had time" such an authority might have been the most desirable thing. He outlined three possible courses of action:

(1) To withdraw the bill and start with a new one dealing with the whole question of pensions;

(2) To accept the Lords' amendments;

(3) To restore the bill to substantially the form it had when it left the House of Commons.

The first was impracticable, because of the time it would require to frame a comprehensive measure. The second was not agreeable to the government. He therefore asked the House

to "take a few days" to consider the request of the government, which was that they accept those amendments which he was pleased to describe as "minor improvements," but that they disagree with the main amendment, "which reconstitutes and renames the statutory authority and strikes out all association with the voluntary side and makes the authority a complete government authority."

The discussion a week later was entertaining. The Labor representatives and others who had criticized the character of the Statutory Committee found themselves "in the unusual position" of believing that the Lords' amendments had strengthened the bill, and that the machinery they proposed was "infinitely better," especially because of the greater possibility it gave of control by the House. In face of the position of the government, however, and because all felt that something must be done, the radical changes were not accepted, and the bill was returned to the Lords, with the following "reasons for disagreement":

> Referring to the change in the character of the authority to be established: it was "intended that the new body shall be a voluntary body and not a government authority, and therefore it is expedient that it should be closely associated with the voluntary body established by Parliament to deal with kindred matters."
>
> In regard to the changes in representation on the committee: it was deemed "inexpedient to take away representatives from the Local Government Board and other bodies and give them to the Crown"; and, "owing to relations which will exist between the new body and local authorities and approved societies in which disabled men are insured it is expedient that the Local Government Board and the National Health Commissioners should be represented on the body."
>
> As to the short title, the original one was restored, "because it is more convenient that a bill dealing mainly with supplementary assistance rather than with primary should be so described."

The last word on the bill in the House of Commons summarizes the judgment of a substantial minority, if not of the majority, on the real merits of the measure, although in despair it was passed: "A bad bill, which will not only defeat its own object but which will cause considerable irritation, and I think even worse, among those whom it is intended to benefit."

Naval and Military War Pensions, etc., Act, 1915

The Lords did not "insist upon" their rejected amendments, apparently feeling, as Lord Lichfield put it: "However much we may dislike this bill in its restored form, we should leave the whole responsibility of it now in the hands of the government."

The measure received the royal assent and became law (5 & 6 Geo. 5, Ch. 83) on November 10, almost a year after the appointment of the Select Committee. It establishes a Statutory Committee of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation "(hereinafter referred to as the Corporation)" consisting of twenty-seven members, including twelve appointed by His Majesty (of whom one shall be chairman and one vice chairman and "some" shall be women and not less than two shall be representatives of labor); one each appointed by the Treasury, the Admiralty, the Army Council, the National Health Insurance Joint Committee, the Local Government Board, the Local Government Board for Scotland, the Local Government Board for Ireland; two by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association; and six by the General Council of the Corporation, of whom some shall be women and four shall be members of the Corporation.

Such salary as the Treasury may determine may be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament to either the chairman or the vice chairman; all other expenses shall be paid "out of the funds at the disposal of the committee."

> For the purpose of assisting the Statutory Committee in the execution of their duties, a local committee shall be established for every county and county borough, and for every borough or urban district having a population of not less than fifty thousand the council of which so desires, and for any other borough or urban district for which the Statutory Committee, on the application of the council thereof, considers it desirable. . . .

The constitution of the local committee is to be determined by a scheme framed by the council and approved by the Statutory Committee, but all schemes must provide for the inclusion of women and representatives of labor and for the appointment of at least a majority of the members by the council, though not necessarily from among the members of the council.

The scheme may provide for the division of the county into districts and the appointment of a subcommittee for each district.

Both local and district committees must include "substantial representation . . . of persons who have within the area either as members of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, or the Soldiers and Sailors Help Society, or otherwise, been performing functions similar to those to be performed by local committees under this act."

The Statutory Committee is directed to prepare and issue "forms of model schemes" for local committees, in order to facilitate the preparation of their schemes by the councils; and if a council is slow about framing its scheme, the Statutory Committee may frame one for it.

Two or more local committees may "combine together for the joint exercise of any of their powers and duties," and may for that purpose appoint a joint committee.

Expenses of a local committee, aside from those paid by the Statutory Committee, "shall be paid out of funds at the disposal of the local committee."

The functions of the Statutory Committee which in any way concern disabled men are the following:

(b) To frame regulations for supplementary grants in cases where, owing to the exceptional circumstances of the case, the pension or grant or separation allowance payable out of public funds seems to the committee to be inadequate;

(c) Out of funds at their disposal, to supplement pensions and grants and separation allowances payable out of the public funds, so, however, that no such supplementary grant shall be made except in accordance with such regulations as aforesaid;

(d) Out of funds at their disposal, to make grants or allowances in cases where no separation allowances or pensions are payable out of public funds;

(e) Out of funds at their disposal, to make advances on account of pensions or grants or separation allowances due to any persons out of public funds during any interval before the payment thereof actually commences, or during which the payment thereof has been accidentally interrupted;

(h) To determine any other questions [1] in relation to pensions or grants or separation allowances which may be referred to the committee by the Admiralty or Army Council;

[1] Paragraphs (f) and (g) refer to deciding questions in regard to claims of dependents.

(i) To administer any funds which may be placed at the disposal of the committee by the Corporation or by local committees or by any society or other organization having funds applicable to the making of grants of the nature of those which the committee are authorized to make, or otherwise;

(j) To make provision for the care of disabled officers and men after they have left the service, including provision for their health, training, and employment.

For the purpose of discharging the duties imposed in (j) it is expressly stipulated that the committee shall appoint "a special subcommittee which shall include representatives of employers and of labor."

To enable the committee to discharge its functions, it is provided that the Admiralty and the Army Council shall on request supply the committee with particulars as to payments made by them to any individual, and the committee may in turn on request communicate such information to any charitable body legitimately interested. The functions assigned to the local committees are:

(a) To inquire into any case referred to them by the Statutory Committee, and to report . . . with their advice and recommendations . . . ;

(b) To collect and furnish to the Statutory Committee such information as may be required by the Statutory Committee with respect to any matter, and to furnish applicants for pensions or grants or separation allowances with information and advice, especially in the event of payment being unduly delayed;

(c) To distribute any supplementary grants made by the Statutory Committee, the distribution of which has been delegated to the local committees;

(d) Out of any funds at their disposal for the purpose, to make contributions toward the funds administered by the Statutory Committee, to increase pensions, grants, and separation allowances and to make grants or allowances where no pensions, grants, or separation allowances are otherwise payable;

(e) Out of funds at their disposal, to make advances on account of pensions or grants or separation allowances due to any persons out of public funds during any interval before the payment thereof actually commences, or during which the payment thereof has been accidentally interrupted;

(f) To make provision, subject to the approval of the Statutory Committee, for the care of disabled officers and men after they have left the service, including provision for their health, training, and employment;

(g) To solicit and receive from the public contributions toward any such purposes as aforesaid.

Resources Available for Disabled Men During This Period

Meanwhile, what had been happening to the disabled men during all these months? For if the march of events seems slow in their narration, progress must have been almost imperceptible to the men who were being discharged from day to day while Parliament debated and delayed. About three thousand had been discharged to the middle of April, 1915, and the "rate" had by that time reached a thousand a month and was to go much higher.

In the first place, the treatment provided by the military authorities was gradually being improved and extended, notably by the establishment of the orthopedic military hospitals and the special neurological hospitals, and by centralizing the business of "limb-fitting" in the Queen Mary's Convalescent Auxiliary Hospitals at Roehampton and Brighton. As late as May, 1915, however, the Murray Committee found that patients were "often" discharged as soon as it became evident that they would not be able to return to active service, without regard to whether they might be benefited by further medical or surgical treatment.

In the next place—logically, at any rate, though probably in point of time it was at several removes from discharge—disabled men were receiving pensions: at the prewar rates until the new warrant was issued on May 21, 1915; after that, and with arrears from March 1, at the generous rates recommended by the Select Committee. Sir Charles Crutchley told the committee on January 18, 1915, that the Chelsea authorities had thus far dealt with 176 cases of total incapacity and 588 of partial incapacity due to the present war. After the new warrant was issued pensions were still in the hands of the Chelsea Board and the Admiralty, but the conditions determining the amount of the pensions were radically changed, by the allowance of additions for each child under sixteen years of age, and by basing the amount of the award for partial disability on the earning capacity which remained.

The chief source of assistance, however, throughout this

period, was in private associations. As the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association "saved the situation" caused by the delay of the army authorities in issuing separation allowances, and by the other needs that arose in the families, so the Soldiers and Sailors Help Society was on hand to perform services for the men who were discharged. Both these societies had existed since the South African War, for their respective purposes, and both had branches or representatives in many parts of the country; but their resources were naturally inadequate for the demands created by the present war, even when supplemented by special local funds, and they were practically financed in the new emergency by another voluntary agency, the National Relief Fund, popularly known as the Prince of Wales's Fund, as the Prince of Wales was chairman of the central committee.

The National Relief Fund had been inaugurated within three or four days of the declaration of war, in order to coordinate the charitable resources of the country, primarily with a view to relieving the civil distress, especially in the way of unemployment, which was anticipated, but also in consideration of the need of supplementary assistance to families and to discharged men. The anticipated distress among the civil population—those families without a representative in the fighting forces—did not materialize, and the principal calls on the fund were for the subordinate purposes. Local committees had been established by the National Relief Fund also, to collect money and to deal with local distress. In most places the relations between this committee and the local committees or representatives of the two societies was cordial and harmonious; in some places they even merged for carrying out their joint purposes; in some, however, there was friction and overlapping.

The Soldiers and Sailors Help Society, then, financed in large part by the National Relief Fund, was during this period the main reliance of the men discharged from the service, most of whom, of course, were disabled in some way. On discharge every man received a "Commendation Form" giving the address of the representative of the society nearest his home, and advis-

ing him to apply there in case of any difficulty, such as delay in getting pay due him, delay in the award of his pension, inability to get his insurance benefit, or lack of work.

This society also had in operation workshops for disabled soldiers, which had been started in 1904, for the benefit of the disabled veterans of the South African War who found difficulty in getting employment in the ordinary labor market. Lord Roberts had always taken a great interest in the workshops, and plans for greatly extending them to meet the needs of the present war were under consideration at the time of his death. It was decided that the memorial to him should take this form, and since that time they have been known as the Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops.

Toy-making was decided upon as the staple industry, partly because this had been preeminently a German trade. In March, 1915, the central factory was opened in Fulham, London, and by the end of the year a hundred men were employed there and plans had been made for the establishment of branches in the provinces, each devoted to one specialty.

At the Heritage Craft Schools in Sussex, an institution for crippled children conducted by the Guild of the Brave Poor Things, a part of the buildings was taken over by the War Office to serve as a hospital for convalescents. Here an ingenious educational system was put into operation by assigning to each soldier two of the boys who had a similar disability and who could therefore encourage him and teach him the tricks they had learned in connection with the toilet and other matters of daily routine, and also help him in his work in the handicraft classes which were opened to the soldiers or organized especially for them.

It was in this first period that Sir Arthur Pearson established St. Dunstan's Hostel for Blinded Soldiers and Sailors. It was opened in April, 1915, in a fine old house in Regent's Park, loaned for the purpose by Mr. Otto H. Kahn, and said to be the original of the Marquis of Steyne's mansion in *Vanity Fair*. This institution has had a steady development to meet the in-

creasing demands, and is probably the best known, at least in America, of all the new works to which the war has given rise.

One other undertaking during this period should be noticed. In the fall of 1915 the Regent Street Polytechnic in London drew up a scheme of the instruction available in its courses for men invalided out of the army or navy, and sent copies to all branches of the Soldiers and Sailors Help Society in and near London. This appears to have been the beginning of what has been one of the characteristic developments in the provision of training—the activity of the existing trade schools.

To summarize the situation which prevailed until the Statutory Committee was appointed, and in fact for six months longer (until July, 1916): whatever was done for disabled soldiers and sailors after discharge, aside from their pension and insurance, was done by the Soldiers and Sailors Help Society, with funds supplied chiefly by the National Relief Fund, supplemented by one or two other existing organizations which served as employment agencies and advisers, and by a few isolated and embryo attempts to provide opportunities for training.

Second Period: The Statutory Committee[1]

The preliminary steps, to the appointment of the Statutory Committee, have been traced thus in detail because they contain the key to the subsequent development and the present system. The characteristic elements, both of strength and of weakness, may already be discerned; the difficulties which the newly constituted machinery is to meet have been analyzed in advance. We are now in position to understand what the Statutory Committee had to do, and to appreciate the way in which it was done.

As far as can be seen from the evidence at the disposition of the public, the committee wasted no time in bewailing the defects of the legislation by which it was established, but set to work in the dogged and determined and practical British spirit to do its

[1] The chief sources of information for this account of the work of the Statutory Committee are personal conferences with officers of the committee and others associated with its work, and the Draft of its final and only report. Unless otherwise indicated, quotations are from this report.

best under the conditions in which it was placed, and to carry out faithfully the tasks imposed upon it. The result was that it accomplished a great deal in the single year before it was superseded, in spite of the handicaps under which it operated, of which one of the greatest must have been—at any rate during the latter part of the year—the knowledge that the future of its plans and projects was uncertain.

Membership of the Committee, Offices and Staff

The Statutory Committee held its first meeting on January 17, 1916, under the presidency of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, who had been named as chairman and served in this capacity until the establishment of the Pensions Ministry and the placing of the committee in that department made it unsuitable that he should continue to hold the office. The vice chairman throughout the committee's existence was Mr. (now Sir) Cyril Jackson, an educator and student of social problems, especially child labor, unemployment, trade unions, and other subjects connected with industry. Recalling the effort which was spent in Parliament in changing the original requirement of the bill that "two" women should be appointed by the Crown and two by the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation to make it read "some," it is of interest to note that only two women were appointed by each.

The committee found it far from easy to secure suitable offices. At the outset the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation lent them accommodation, and the Local Government Board also placed rooms at their disposal. Offices were lent to them also by the Great Western, the Great Northern, and North Eastern Railway Companies free of charge, and they secured additional space in certain buildings in Abingdon Street. Ultimately nine different houses were wholly or in part occupied by the committee, and the division of their staff among these scattered buildings was a serious disadvantage.

There were difficulties also in getting together the necessary staff. Assistance of a number of volunteers was secured. The

chief inspector and most of the other honorary inspectors had previously, in connection with the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, had "experience of work similar to that of local committees, and their services were of great value, particularly in the transitional period when the work of the philanthropic bodies was being taken over by the local committees." The paid staff was recruited in part from the various government departments, including the Board of Inland Revenue, the National Relief Fund, the National Health Insurance Office, the Board of Trade, the War Office, the Board of Education, the Post Office, the Local Government Board. Many men who had retired from business or profession were found willing to give their services at low salaries, and when possible invalided discharged officers were employed. On June 30, 1917, when the force was probably at its maximum, it numbered 260, of whom 44 were in the "Disablements Branch."

Formation of Local Committees

In accordance with the provision of the statute which directed the committee to prepare and issue model schemes for the constitution of local committees, "they set about this work forthwith," and issued the models, with circulars of instruction and explanation, in the middle of February.

Local committees were made obligatory by the statute for every county and county borough and for every borough or urban district with a population of 50,000, and might be established in any borough or urban district with a smaller population if the Statutory Committee considered it desirable, "having regard to the special circumstances of the case." In 211 cases the councils of such districts applied for authority to establish separate committees, but in only 59 did the Statutory Committee decide that "the conditions contemplated by the statute were satisfied."

Including these 59 smaller districts, the total number of local committees established was 302. All but one framed their own

scheme and submitted it for approval. The single exception was the county borough of Lincoln, where

> the town council were unwilling to frame a scheme, apparently on the ground that adequate provision should have been made out of state funds for the proper care of officers and men and their dependents. The Statutory Committee therefore framed a scheme for the borough under Section 2 (3) of the act. The town council were authorized by the scheme to appoint representatives on the local committee, and this they readily did.
>
> In each case the scheme fixed the total number of members of the local committee, and this number did not usually exceed 31. The members were required to be appointed by the local authority framing the scheme, but specified labor and other organizations were entitled to recommend persons for appointment. . . . Save in some exceptional cases, the schemes provided that at least a fifth of the total number . . . should be representatives of labor, and they generally also gave a like minimum representation to women. They further provided for the substantial representation of the philanthropic and other societies.

Representation was given to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, the Soldiers and Sailors Help Society, and "in various instances" to employers of labor, the Territorial Force Association, Friendly Societies, Insurance Committees under the National Insurance Act, the National Relief Fund, Chambers of Commerce, Local Education Authorities, Local Pensions (Old Age) Committees, the National Union of Teachers, and Public Health Committees.[1]

Only once was the Statutory Committee called upon to act as referee, as provided by the statute, in the case of a difference between the local authority and the organization recommending a representative for appointment. The town council af Warrington objected to two gentlemen recommended for appointment by the Trades and Labor Council, on the ground that they were "opposed to war, to recruiting and to soldiers generally." One of the two was found to be suitable for appointment, the other not.

Twelve or more of the local committees took advantage of the authority given them under Section 2 (4) of the act, to divide

[1] An act of Parliament in the session of 1917–18 has stipulated that representatives of disabled men and of women in receipt of pensions be included in the membership of local and district committees.

the county into districts and appoint a district committee in each. Most of them also formed subcommittees, in addition to the one particularly provided for to deal with disabled officers and men.

Temporary Arrangements Pending Appointment of Local Committees

The work which had to be taken over by the Statutory Committee from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, the Soldiers and Sailors Help Society and some other organizations consisted of the supplementing of separation allowances, the granting of allowances where none were payable out of public funds, the making of advances pending the receipt of moneys due from public funds, and the granting of certain temporary allowances or small grants of various kinds.

Before the act passed efficient machinery had been established by the organizations mentioned, under the direction of the executive committee of the National Relief Fund who supplied the necessary funds. It was evident that some time must elapse before the local committees, whose help was essential to enable the Statutory Committee to perform the work, could be established, and at the request of the Statutory Committee the National Relief Fund continued their financial assistance up to the 30th June, 1916.

The Statutory Committee pressed the local authorities to get the local committees set up by that date, but in a considerable number of cases this was found to be impracticable. The Statutory Committee were authorized by Section 3 (6) of the act, pending the appointment of a local or subcommittee for any area, to make arrangements with any organization for the performance within that area of certain of the functions of a local committee, and accordingly they invited the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, the Soldiers and Sailors Help Society and other voluntary bodies to act as their agents for the purposes above mentioned where necessary. The request . . . was complied with, and owing to the public spirit of these bodies and their excellent arrangements there was no cessation of allowances to sailors and soldiers and their dependents, and these continued to be made pending the getting to work of the local committees. The Statutory Committee are greatly indebted to the various voluntary agencies concerned, especially to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association and the Soldiers and Sailors Help Society and their visitors, for the assistance given them. They desire to recognize this in the fullest degree.

Finances

As had been anticipated, "at the outset it became necessary to consider from what source funds were to be provided for

carrying out the act." This accordingly was patiently considered. "It appeared impracticable to make a central appeal for voluntary contributions, and negotiations were opened with the Treasury for a grant of a substantial sum to form the nucleus of a fund. The negotiations resulted in the grant by Parliament of £1,000,000 under the Naval and Military War Pensions, etc. (Expenses) Act, 1916," and this sum was promptly paid into the committee's account on the day after it was granted. The grant was stated to be "in aid of the funds at the disposal of the Statutory Committee," thus keeping up the original fiction, and was therefore available for defraying the expenses of any of the functions of the committee.

With the financing of supplementary separation allowances we are not concerned, but supplementary pensions and other grants and allowances touched disabled men as well as the dependents of men in the field or in their graves. The financing of such schemes

> involved the question of the extent to which the committee's operations should be dependent upon contributions from voluntary sources. This question had to be determined largely by public opinion, and while the act seemed to imply that the committee would be able to rely upon substantial voluntary contributions, it became evident that, owing to the effect of strong expressions of public opinion and to the general attitude of local authorities, such contributions could not be relied upon for supplements to state pensions, although it was still thought that considerable sums might be forthcoming for education, assistance to the disabled, and grants of a compassionate nature.

Extended conferences and correspondence were accordingly held with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as a result of which a fairly satisfactory arrangement was in sight, when "the introduction of the Ministry of Pensions Bill necessitated a postponement of the question, and at the end of the year (1916) the whole subject of the financial arrangements of the Statutory Committee was under review, as the result of the changes consequent upon the creation of the Ministry of Pensions."

Local committees were authorized by the act of 1915 to solicit and receive funds from the public, but there appears to have been

little disposition to take advantage of this privilege, in the face of the public feeling that the whole cost of supplementary pensions and other grants ought to be a charge on the national exchequer. As to the administrative expenses of local committees, the Statutory Committee thought "it would be inexpedient that no part of these expenses should be locally borne," and that they should be met by the Treasury and the local authority "in equal moieties within an agreed scale." Pending arrangements by the local authorities, who were the source indicated in the act, the local committees were allowed to use moneys advanced to them by the committee. The decision reached in the Naval and Military War Pensions, etc., (Administrative Expenses) Act, 1917, was that two-thirds of these expenses should be defrayed by the Treasury and one-third out of local rates.

The total amount received by the Statutory Committee from voluntary sources for various special objects, to June 30, 1917, was £61,428.

Regulations for Supplementary Allowances

By the act of 1915 the Statutory Committee was directed to frame regulations governing the granting of supplementary pensions, allowances, etc., "in exceptional circumstances." The fundamental question was, what circumstances should be interpreted to be "exceptional." The following definition was formulated:

> Circumstances where the disproportion between the state pension, together with earnings or earning capacity and other income on the one hand, and the proportion hereinafter specified of the prewar income or prewar dependence, earnings, and other income on the other hand, involves special hardship, *viz.:*
>
> (a) Permanent ill-health (mental or physical) of the beneficiary, or his or her incapacity for work.
>
> (b) In the case of a widow, the fact of there being young children or an invalid child.
>
> (c) In the case of dependents, their number.
>
> (d) In the case of a totally disabled man, the fact of his requiring regular medical attendance and special care.
>
> (e) Any other circumstances causing special hardship.

In the instructions which accompanied the regulations when they were finally issued to the local committees, in October, after approval by the Treasury and publication as a White Paper in connection with a discussion in the House of Commons, these general principles are explained as follows:

> In the first place it will be evident that it is not the function of the Statutory Committee in every case to make good whatever loss of income is caused by the death or disablement of the man. The act prescribes that the cases in which a supplementary pension may be granted must be exceptional. While, therefore, mere disparity between the income before and after the man's death would not necessarily be regarded as an exceptional circumstance, it may, in certain cases, be so extreme as of itself to constitute a special hardship.
>
> In the second place, exceptional circumstances must be only such as arise out of the conditions of the individual case or affect it in an exceptional degree.
>
> Lastly, the exceptional circumstances contemplated by the regulations are those of a permanent rather than of a temporary or occasional kind.

Extensive directions are given for computing the present and prewar income and for interpreting these principles in other respects. As the cost of living increased, many local committees requested that they might take that into consideration, and the committee decided that such a method of adjustment would be preferable to an increase in the flat rate and so recommended to the Treasury. The Treasury did not agree, but later the flat rate was raised for wives and children.

Another problem which gave the committee considerable concern was the situation of privates whose "general and financial circumstances" were "similar to those of officers." The committee "were impressed with the desirability of according equality of treatment, as far as possible, to men of like standing and circumstances, whether such men held commissions or served in the ranks, and therefore agreed that the maximum limit for disabled officers and for the widows and dependents of deceased officers should be applied in the case of disablement or death of men in like general and financial circumstances."

The regulations provided, with respect to disabled men, that

"Where, owing to the 'exceptional circumstances' (see definition) of the case," the state pension "seems to the Statutory Committee to be inadequate, a supplementary pension may be granted of such amount as, when added to the state pension, earnings and 'other income,' shall not exceed the 'prewar income' of the beneficiaries, or in any case the sum of 50 shillings a week," in the case of total disability, and 40 shillings a week in the case of partial disability. In determining the amount of such supplementary pension and the proportion of prewar income to be allowed, the following factors are to be taken into consideration:

(a) The number of the man's children, their ages, and any circumstances affecting them causing special expense.

(b) The extent to which other persons are dependent upon the man.

(c) The nature of the man's disability in necessitating regular medical attendance, not covered by insurance, or other extra expense.

(d) Any provision made for the care or training of the disabled man.

(e) The whole or part of the insurance benefit payable for the first six months of incapacity.

Supplementary pensions for partial disability "shall be strictly temporary at first, and shall be so designated, and shall be subject to periodical reassessment in consequence of any variation in the earnings or earning capacity of the disabled man. In the first assessment . . . a provisional earning capacity shall be assumed which shall be based upon the probable earning power of the man in relation to the particular occupation or trade which he may have followed or to which he may be able to adapt himself. Ultimately his actual earnings shall be taken into account unless the Statutory Committee are of opinion on a report from the local committee that earning capacity should be taken."

For officers, supplementary pensions may be granted "in respect of each of his children (if any)" of not more than £24 a year if the officer is totally disabled, £20 if partially disabled, provided the total income does not exceed the prewar income, or in any case the sum of £187 10 shillings per year.

Special temporary allowances are provided for in the case of men not eligible to a pension out of public funds, if "the inabil-

ity or refusal of the Admiralty or War Office to grant a state pension is not due to the unworthiness of the applicant or the unsatisfactory service of the officer, sailor or soldier concerned," and if the committee "are satisfied that the case is one of exceptional hardship." For a disabled man, such temporary allowance is not to exceed 20 shillings a week, with allowances for children at the rates provided in the state pension, if separation allowance had been issued to his wife or dependent while he was in service, or 10 shillings a week if there had been no separation allowance issued; for an officer, not exceeding £90 a year, with an allowance not exceeding £20 for each child.

The committee reached the conclusion that it was "inadvisable in existing circumstances to frame specific regulations for permanent grants" in such cases, and accordingly confined its provisions to the temporary allowances in urgent cases of hardship, as just described. The instructions to local committees explain that "it must be assumed that the Admiralty and War Office will satisfy all just claims by the grant of a state pension, and it is only in the residue of cases, which can not be brought within the government pension schemes but present features of great hardship, that the compassionate action of the committee is called for." Such cases "will fall into three main categories," the first and third of which include disabled men:

(I) Where the death or disablement of the man is not recognized as due to the war, although occurring during war service.

(III) Where the state obligation to a dependent is discharged by the payment of a gratuity only.

Applications for supplementary pensions and special allowances for disabled men were dealt with by the Case Section of the Special Disablements Subcommittee, and will be spoken of later. Applications from disabled officers and from "men who, though not officers, were in like general and financial circumstances," were handled by the Officers' Subcommittee, which was appointed on October 31, because of the large number of applications from officers' families which were coming in.

Disabled Officers

Supplementary pensions and allowances were made by the Officers' Subcommittee to 152 disabled officers to June 30, 1917. In addition, 209 applications for employment were received from disabled officers, and efforts were made to find suitable employment for them through the Professional Classes Bureau established by the Board of Trade, and through other existing agencies and personal acquaintance.

The experience of this subcommittee led to the issue by the Statutory Committee of supplementary regulations enabling them to make grants not exceeding £100 to improve a disabled officer's capacity or health, and to supplement the state pension of a partially disabled officer in addition to the supplementary pension which could be awarded in respect of his children.

Education of Children

A portion of their work to which the Statutory Committee attached much importance has been the provision of education for the children of deceased or disabled officers and men. Their object has been to secure facilities for these children so that they may obtain an education equal to that which they would have received but for the war.

A letter was addressed by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to the headmasters of the public and some other large schools in the fall of 1916, suggesting that free tuition might be granted to the sons of "old boys," and that Old Boys' Funds might be raised to meet the other expenses. "There was a very general response" to this appeal.

In addition, regulations were adopted by the committee allowing it to award scholarships up to £50 a year at boarding schools or £25 in other schools, together with a sum not exceeding £10 a year for traveling and incidental expenses. Educational grants had been awarded in 190 cases (children of officers in 117 cases, of soldiers or sailors in 73) up to July 17, 1917, but the report does not indicate how many of these were disabled officers or men.

Special Disablements Subcommittee

Coming now to the work of the committee especially charged with "making provision for the care of disabled officers and men after they have left the service, including provision for their health, training and employment," it will be recalled that this committee was to include representatives of employers and of labor. Six of each were included, and also representatives of the Board of Trade, the War Office, the Local Government Board, the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, the National Health Insurance Commission, the Soldiers and Sailors Help Society, and of technical schools and "others specially qualified to serve."

One of the subcommittee's first undertakings was to prepare a general circular (No. 9) addressed to local committees, which was issued on July 27, 1916, informing them of the "preliminary arrangements" which had been made, and stating certain fundamental principles and theories which had been agreed upon.

After calling attention to the importance of this particular function of providing for the disabled, the circular advises, in the first place, that a register be kept by the local committee of all the disabled soldiers and sailors in its area. To this end arrangements had been made with the War Office to supply to each local committee the names of all men who at the time of their discharge propose to reside in the committee's area, and to give each man on discharge the address of his local committee.

Arrangements had also been made for the furnishing to the local committees by the labor exchanges of information in regard to placements of discharged men and in regard to men who could not be placed. The desirability of close cooperation with the labor exchanges is emphasized, and it is suggested that the committees should rely on them "to place disabled men in vacancies arising in connection with ordinary trade and industry, while the local committees devote themselves especially to the assistance of cases of special difficulty."

It is laid down as a fundamental principle that "in the interests

of economy and efficiency it is important to avoid the setting up of special machinery for dealing with disabled sailors and soldiers in any case in which the machinery already in existence is adequate or can be rendered adequate for the purpose, and the Statutory Committee can not too strongly deprecate the expenditure of money on unnecessary institutions or superfluous agencies, whether such money is derived from public funds or from charitable sources."

The available facilities for the more important kinds of disability for which provision would be needed are outlined, and then the subject of training is considered.

> As in the case of health, so in the case of training, it is desirable to make the fullest possible use of existing agencies before spending any money on the provision of new institutions.
>
> And again it is important that, wherever possible, the training should be of such character as to fit the disabled man to take his place so far as practicable in the general industrial community.
>
> Large numbers, probably the majority of the men disabled in the present war, were engaged in industry before they joined the forces. Many of these will be in a condition, notwithstanding their disablement, to resume their former occupations; others will be able to take up a kindred occupation, possibly in a lighter branch of the same industry. This process should be facilitated and encouraged so far as possible.
>
> In providing for those cases in which training is necessary the following general principles should be observed:
>
> (a) The training should, if possible, be given in the area in which the man resides.
>
> (b) It is undesirable, if it can be avoided, to separate the man from his family.
>
> (c) It is generally better to give the training in an institution to which other persons are admitted than to set up separate institutions exclusively for disabled sailors and soldiers, though for special classes of them it may be necessary to make additional provision.
>
> (d) As the number of men for whom training is needed will diminish year by year after the war, expenditure on the provision of buildings and apparatus which will only be required for a temporary period should be kept within strict limits.

In harmony with these principles, the committee "consider that as a rule the necessary training, if definite technical instruction is required, should be provided in the existing polytechnics,

technical institutes and trade schools through the agency of the local education authorities, although no attempt should be made to give technical training in a few weeks to adults which it takes years for a boy at a much more adaptable age to acquire."

The possibility is suggested of arranging with local employers to provide training at their own works on light machines "for the working of which little training is required, but training such as can only be given in the workshop." The necessity of safeguarding wages in such cases is recognized.

Local committees are urged to see how far the permanently disabled, even those who have a maximum pension, can be encouraged to take light employment, and how far the partially disabled can be fitted for taking their full share in the industry of the country, for in their own interest "it is most undesirable that they should be condemned to a life of idleness."

The possibilities for agricultural training, and for assisting men to settle on the land near their former homes, are especially commended to the consideration of the local committees.

On the question of employment, the Statutory Committee holds that "so far as practicable, disabled men should be encouraged to return to their own homes and to take their place in the ordinary industrial community under normal conditions of employment." They "have every reason to hope" that a large proportion of the men discharged for disability will have no difficulty in finding suitable employment with former employers or by other natural means of their own. For those who need help in this direction, the local committees are advised first to "make the fullest use of the machinery of the labor exchange," but if the man does not get work in this way, the local committees "should themselves institute inquiries and canvass employers," since "it is important that employment should be found quickly, and thus the demoralization which is the almost inevitable consequence of a protracted period of unemployment be prevented." "Further, the nature of the employment found for the disabled man should be suitable in every way, and the wages be fair wages."

Inasmuch as some employers appeared still to be under the impression that the insurance rates against employers' liability were increased in the case of disabled men, a statement is included in the circular "that the Statutory Committee have been definitely informed that, so far as the insurance companies included in the Accident Offices Association are concerned, the uniform premium ordinarily charged by the companies covers all classes of employes whether able-bodied or partially disabled; and that, save in very exceptional cases and in philanthropic establishments employing disabled men only, no additional premium is charged on account of physical disability."

With reference to supplementary pensions, the local committees are cautioned against making lavish recommendations.

> Nothing could be worse for the men themselves or for the community than that there should be a large number of pensioners encouraged to believe that they need do nothing more for their own support. . . . When, therefore, a state pension has been awarded on the basis of partial disablement with the intention that the man shall add by his own efforts a sufficient sum to enable him to live in comfort, the local committee should only recommend the supplementing of such pension while the man is being trained or found employment or during such periods as his health makes it desirable that he should have temporary cessation of work and should receive medical treatment.

In concluding this first, and general, circular to the local committees, the Statutory Committee expresses its desire

> that each disabled man, wherever he may reside, should be provided through the local committee with some friendly advice and assistance whenever he may need them. The local committee can best determine by what method they can bring each individual into touch with some representative of their own body. It was undoubtedly the intention of Parliament to secure that in addition to a system of pensions paid by the central government departments and through the usual official machinery, there should be in each district personal and friendly contact with disabled men, so that the nation's debt might be discharged with more human and individual thoughtfulness and care than it is possible for a central administration to bestow.

The task of the subcommittee, in the language of the act, included provisions for the "health, training, and employment" of disabled officers and men after leaving the service.

Provisions for Treatment

It seemed to the committee that the medical treatment should be "carried out on national lines."

Experience, both in Great Britain and in France, showed that after the men's discharge it was exceedingly difficult to insure that they could be collected for further treatment. Nothing is more natural than that the men should desire to return to their homes, and those whose homes are in country villages or small towns, where there are very few medical facilities, suffer by being unable to get the special treatment which their various disabilities require. After careful consideration the committee passed a resolution to the effect that in their opinion men should not be discharged from the forces as long as they still required active medical treatment. They had the concurrence of representatives of the medical profession and of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress in asking that the War Office should retain full responsibility until the men injured during their service had been as far as possible restored to health. They felt that only while the men were still in the service could they be dealt with comprehensively. Apart altogether from the control of the men, the War Office alone had power to commandeer hospitals, doctors and nurses. A conference was arranged at the War Office at the beginning of August, 1916, with representatives of the Treasury, the Local Government Board and the National Health Insurance Commissioners. In accordance with a resolution passed by the committee on the 21st of September a deputation waited on the then Secretary of State for War on the 3d of November, 1916, and pressed very strongly for this solution of the problem. No answer, however, was received until after the end of the year, and then, unfortunately, it was unfavorable.

The committee had, therefore, to endeavor to make other provision. In addition to the great voluntary hospitals, there is already public provision for dealing with various forms of disease. The National Health Insurance Commissioners are responsible for the ordinary treatment by means of the panel doctors of at least 90 per cent of the men discharged from the army. The public health authorities have certain duties with regard to tuberculosis and other diseases, and the Asylums Committees have responsibility for certifiable mental disease. The Insurance Commissioners were approached by the committee early in 1916, and a provisional agreement was come to for special treatment for discharged soldiers, but until the question as to the time of discharge was settled by the War Office, no final arrangement could be made. The needs of the army had depleted the staff of the hospitals and had taken away from their ordinary practice many of the panel doctors and other general practitioners.

It was impossible, owing to the shortage of labor and materials, to build new hospitals. The committee therefore came to the conclusion that the additional accommodation required could only be made in the form of auxiliary hospitals in borrowed houses or by means of an extension of existing

institutions. It was hoped that the need for permanent institutions would be comparatively small.

Some groups of disability have, however, received special treatment:

(a) The National Health Insurance Commissioners have undertaken the domiciliary and institutional treatment of insured sailors and soldiers discharged suffering from tuberculosis. The uninsured tuberculous men are provided for by the Local Government Boards. . . . Under these arrangements the discharged sailor or soldier requiring treatment for tuberculosis receives preferential admission to sanatoria.

(b) The totally blind are admirably treated in London at St. Dunstan's, . . . under Sir Arthur Pearson's management [and an affiliated institution in Edinburgh was added in 1917].

(c) The Roehampton Hospital, with its Brighton annex and the smaller institutions of a similar kind in Scotland and Ireland, have dealt with the provision of artificial limbs in all cases of amputation.

(d) The Red Cross Society have established a hospital at the Star and Garter at Richmond for paraplegic cases [and have opened additional ones in 1917]. The committee . . . found that there were a number of men who wished to be near their relatives, and they therefore appealed to some of the general hospitals to take in a few such cases, and obtained a generous response.

(e) With regard to certifiable mental cases, the Statutory Committee took the advice of the Board of Control. They were convinced that difficulties of classification made it desirable to distribute the men so afflicted among the existing asylums. They therefore made an offer to all the asylum authorities to pay a small sum above the actual maintenance cost of each patient, so that the men might not be placed on the pauper roll, but become private patients classed as "service patients."

(f) Epilepsy is a disease for which there has been hitherto inadequate provision. To obtain extra places . . . the committee came to an agreement with the committee of the Chalfont St. Giles Colony for the provision of extra pavilions, and they obtained a generous gift from the Red Cross Society of the necessary capital sum.

(g) Much anxious thought was given to the proper treatment of neurasthenic cases. In the opinion of medical experts, the expediency of placing such cases together in institutions was questioned, as it was thought they would react unfavorably on each other. In the autumn of 1916, however, the chairman of the Special Medical Board for neurasthenic cases asked the committee to establish an experimental institution in which such men could be placed with soldiers crippled or maimed. The committee gratefully accepted the offer of the authorities of the Maida Vale Hospital for Nervous Diseases to undertake the management of such a hospital. A suitable building was, after considerable trouble, found at Golder's Green, and the Workers' Union, to whom it belonged, were approached at the end of the year. Arrangements were not concluded until the new year, when the Red Cross Society came to the assistance of the committee and provided the necessary capital expenditure.

Training

In view of the opinion of medical experts that in orthopedic and other cases requiring a long and tedious period of treatment some curative manual training should if possible be attempted in connection with the treatment, "it was urged upon the War Office that they should allow this curative manual training to take an industrial bias before the man's discharge, so that technical training might be continued afterward." Roehampton has been the pioneer in this, providing workshops at the hospital and making arrangements with various polytechnics and city livery companies for courses of training for its "graduates," the Statutory Committee assisting by payment of fees and expense of maintenance.

The question of settling disabled men on the land, to which the Murray Committee referred as one of great importance, had been considered by the Departmental Committee on Land Settlement for Sailors and Soldiers, appointed by the President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries on July 15, 1915, under the chairmanship of Sir Harry Verney, M.P. An interim report of this committee, dated September 4, 1915, recommended that a free course of training at an agricultural college should be offered to fifty disabled sailors or soldiers; its report of January 21, 1916, discussed the relation of disabled men to the scheme proposed for state settlement of discharged soldiers and sailors.[1]

The plan for settlement contemplates village communities of at least a hundred families; tenancy rather than ownership; and a resident director to give expert guidance. The committee is opposed to "anything like the establishment of colonies for cripples"; they should form only a small proportion of the settlers in any community, but it might be expected that the proposed scheme would absorb a number of the less severely wounded. Undoubtedly there existed in agriculture a considerable number of openings for disabled men, and the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, acting on behalf of the Statutory

[1] Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 8182.

Committee, should provide training. The men, when properly trained, "should be treated on the same footing as able-bodied ex-service men, except that, other things being equal, preference might reasonably be given to partially disabled men in selecting the tenants for small holdings established either by the state or by county councils." In so far as disabled men were aided in establishing themselves on the land, they should come under the same authority as the able-bodied ex-soldiers and sailors; "there should not be separate authorities dealing for this purpose with the able-bodied and the disabled."

It was hoped by the Statutory Committee "that many men would desire to be trained in agriculture," and opportunities were made available at agricultural colleges in accordance with the recommendation of Sir Harry Verney's committee. Few candidates, however, were found for this rather advanced course, and local committees were accordingly advised to consult with county agricultural committees as to the possibility of placing men with individual farmers.

Local education authorities responded cordially to the appeal of the committee to make provision for technical training. Classes in fifty-eight different subjects or processes of industry were offered by the universities, polytechnics, and technical institutes before the Statutory Committee went out of existence.

In general the difficulty of the committee was not to find opportunities for training, but to find men to take advantage of them. "The great dearth of labor has made it possible for almost every discharged man to get work without training, and, in fact, the men have generally refused training and gone to work."

Employment

Consistently with its general principle of utilizing existing agencies, the committee decided that it would be "undesirable to start employment bureaus specially for disabled men if the national system of employment exchanges could deal with them satisfactorily," and they have been able to do so. There

are over four hundred of these exchanges in the United Kingdom. Up to December 8, 1916, there had been 175,193 men reported to the Employment Exchange Department of the Labor Ministry as discharged, in accordance with the arrangement made by the committee. Of these 85,161, about half, had called at the exchanges, and 38,776, a little less than half, had been placed by the exchanges. On that date there were 2,919 soldiers still on the registers of the exchanges, "and it was believed that the rest had returned to their old employment or had found other work as soon as they were physically fit."

A great many discharged men have been absorbed into munitions work. In January, 1917, training centers were established by the Ministry of Munitions, for elementary courses of four to six weeks, and also for advanced courses in tool making, tool setting, skilled operating, gauge making, and other skilled processes, in the case of men who had in the past been "skilled artisans in the engineering trades." Naturally, only men who were physically capable of working under ordinary factory conditions were eligible, and those with some previous knowledge of mechanics were preferred.

Although, "while the war continues there will probably be little difficulty in finding employment for most disabled men who are reasonably efficient," the committee realized that after the war, "whatever the general condition of trade and industry, employers will probably be inclined to prefer able-bodied men for all processes which are usually carried out by male labor." Looking forward to this situation, the Employment Department of the Ministry of Labor, in cooperation with the Statutory Committee, undertook to collect information with regard to the processes and employments in which men with different forms of disablement "could render services as valuable as those of able-bodied men." Trade Advisory Committees, composed of employers and employes, are established by the Labor Ministry in the industries selected, and a separate report for each industry is issued, describing the openings in it for men of different degrees and kinds of disability, the positive qualities required

in it, the nature and opportunities for training for it, wages and prospects, and other information which a man would like to have if he were considering a new occupation, not omitting to mention the financial inducements offered by the government to any disabled soldier or sailor who will take a course of training. The first of these Reports upon Openings in Industry Suitable for Disabled Sailors and Soldiers were:[1]

I. Attendants at Electricity Substations.
II. Employment in Picture Theatres.
III. Tailoring.
IV. Agricultural Motor Tractor Work.

To deal with the difficult question of rates of pay for disabled men, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, "after a conference with the vice chairman of the Statutory Committee," passed a resolution that Advisory Wages Boards, consisting of representatives of workmen's organizations and employers' associations in equal proportions, should be established throughout the United Kingdom. The committee sent a deputation to the Board of Trade to urge the formation of such boards, and early in 1917 panels were prepared as an experiment in the twenty largest cities. The precise function of these Advisory Wages Boards is to decide disputes between discharged soldiers and sailors and their employers in individual cases, and it is open to any workman or any employer in the district to seek their advice.

The principle in regard to the pay of disabled men which was expressed by the Statutory Committee in its resolution to the Board of Trade was as follows:

> That, in the opinion of the committee, the rates of pay to disabled sailors and soldiers should bear the same proportion to the rates of pay of competent, able-bodied men as the output of the former bears to that of the

[1] To these had been added by April, 1918: furniture; leather goods; hand-sewn boot and shoe making and repairing; gold, silver, jewelry, and watch and clock jobbing; dental mechanics; aircraft manufacture, certain departments; wholesale tailoring; boot and shoe manufacture; basket-making, including cane and wicker furniture; building trade; engineering; printing and kindred trades; cinema trade.

latter. Where output can not be the deciding factor, the wages should be decided upon capability, but on the basis that discharged soldiers and sailors capable of performing the work as efficiently as able-bodied men shall be paid the full rates of pay. . . . It is recognized that some probationary period may be necessary for men entering new trades.

The proposed boards "are not to have regard to any pension to which the man may at the time be entitled."

Supplementary Pensions and Special Allowances

Applications for supplementary pensions and special allowances to disabled men were handled by the Case Section of the Disablements Subcommittee, except that local committees were authorized to make temporary grants during a period of ill-health, "a power which has been very sympathetically exercised, and which has led to a number of men receiving temporary allowances before they were able to return to work during a period of rest while under supervision of their panel doctor, though not undergoing active treatment."

The applications considered by the central committee through July 4, 1917, were as follows:

	For Supplementary Pension	For Special Allowance
Applications received	3,336	2,486
Awards made	475	412
Awards refused	20	73
Not recommended by or subsequently withdrawn by local committees	2,060	1,040
Under consideration July 4	781	961

In the majority of the cases withdrawn by the local committees it was because the man's pension had been reassessed and was considered sufficient, or because he had received treatment or training and was able to earn the additional income needed. Most of the cases under consideration on July 4, 1917, were either referred back to the local committees for "amendment," or were sent to the Ministry of Pensions for reconsideration, and the rest were assisted temporarily pending reassessment of pension or award of a gratuity.

Disablements Work of Local Committees

Fully two-thirds of the local committees appointed a special subcommittee to discharge their duties with respect to disabled men, as they were authorized to do by the statute. Whether they established such subcommittees or not,

> by far the greater part of the work of the treatment and training of disabled men has been done . . . by the local committees . . . under the regulations of the Statutory Committee. They could thus help men whilst they were under the supervision of panel doctors or when they required active treatment at institutions as in-patients or out-patients. Local committees have been able to arrange for the admission of men to any of the civil hospitals where suitable treatment could be given, and these facilities have been freely used. Negotiations have also been in progress with the military authorities for the admission of the men as out-patients at the military hospitals. These negotiations have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion [in 1917]. Where treatment other than that which could be given at the hospitals has been required, the Statutory Committee have asked that particulars of the suggested institutions and a scheme of treatment should be submitted. Where committees have submitted schemes showing suitable hospitals or convalescent homes which they desired to use, these schemes have been approved, and the committees have then been able to send any disabled men in their areas for treatment to these institutions without further reference to the Statutory Committee, who did not desire to have to approve of the arrangements for individual cases.

In the same way local committees were invited to submit schemes of training, "and though they have found difficulty in framing such schemes, a number have been approved."

Reports from about two-thirds of the local committees show that up to June 30, 1917, they had granted about 7,240 applications for treatment, and 1,800 for training. Figures for the year 1916 indicate that most of the applications of both sorts were "granted," including the single one for training that had been made in Ireland.

Importance of the Local Committees

It must already be clear, from the description of the proceedings of the Statutory Committee as well as from the functions assigned to the local committees by the statute, that "the bulk of the work under the act of 1915" must be performed by them.

They are the part of the machinery with which the individual soldier or sailor comes in contact. The Statutory Committee, in their report, "can not too warmly express their appreciation of the way in which the members of these committees and their subcommittees have worked in the interests of the sailor and soldier and their dependents."

The local committees are very much like the district committees of a charity organization society in England or the United States, both in the representative character of their membership and in their methods of work. The committees and their paid staff probably include a large proportion of the "volunteer" and the "professional" "social workers" of the country. It is said that the representatives of labor organizations and of local officials have not, as a matter of fact, taken an active part in the work of the local committees, but that in most cases the same people who were doing the work before the creation of the Statutory Committee continued to do it under the new name, as, for that matter, they have continued to do it under the auspices of the Ministry of Pensions since the Statutory Committee went out of existence. No doubt this continuity of personnel in the local machinery has prevented the changes in policy as to overhead administration from causing as much inconvenience and irritation as might have been expected.

As to the way in which the local committees have discharged their duties, the Statutory Committee says:

> There is no doubt that they have been sympathetic and generously disposed, and possibly in some instances state funds have been too freely expended; but the Statutory Committee believe that generally members of the local committees have endeavored to adhere to the regulations, to pay what is fair, and not to let their kindly instincts lead them into extravagant payments at the nation's expense.
>
> The money payments made by local committees do not by any means represent the whole of their work. They act as the advisers of claimants for pensions, etc., write on their behalf to paymasters and pension authorities, and help them when there are delays or difficulties which require adjustment.

It is easy to understand that the point of view of the central committee as to what constitutes extravagant expenditure might

not be the same as that of the committee which is considering the needs of individual cases. Probably there was a variety of excellence among the 302 local committees, in spite of the standardizing influence of the regulations and inspections of the Statutory Committee. Some no doubt acted with more wisdom and more energy and more resourcefulness than others. Probably, too, there was more difficulty felt locally at the time of transition than was evident to the remote central office in London.

Among the appendices to the report of the Statutory Committee is a selection of extracts from reports of the "inspectors of accounts." Only two of those quoted refer specifically to the part of the work which concerns us. One of them says in regard to disabled men:

> Generally I can report that these cases get every attention. Some committees have as yet waited until an application is made before investigating, but I find that a much larger proportion of discharged men are now registering. There is a difficulty in persuading men to consider training, most particularly so in the colliery districts, but the class of men getting discharged now is often superior and more willing to consider training and treatment. And the wife will have something to say now, as the new allowances put her in clover whilst her man is away undergoing training or treatment.

The last sentence refers to the financial inducements provided in the new warrant of March, 1917, which will be described below in connection with the work of the Ministry of Pensions.

The other inspector says:

> On the disablement question, there is much spade work to be done. Many committees do not realize the necessity for taking this aspect of the work seriously. The general idea, which seems to be far too prevalent, is that when a man has been given monetary assistance, or if immediate employment has been found for him, his position has been satisfactorily dealt with.

Work of the Statutory Committee in 1917

Most of the constructive work which should stand under the name of the Statutory Committee was accomplished in the single year before the Ministry of Pensions entered upon its duties. The last months of the committee's life were occupied mainly

with adjusting itself to the new situation, cooperating loyally with the Minister of Pensions in working out some of the important features of the new arrangements and the scheme of pensions which was promulgated in the spring of 1917, carrying on its diminished responsibilities, and reluctantly coming to the conclusion that it could best serve the cause for which it was created by withdrawing from the scene. How this came about will be described in the next section.

One new undertaking in 1917 deserves to be noticed. In May the issue of a monthly "organ" was begun, chiefly as a means of information for the local committees. This is called the *War Pensions Gazette,* and its publication has been continued since the committee went out of existence. It is a valuable little paper, containing each month an article by some well-known man as a leader, news items and reviews of conferences and publications, the latest developments in parliamentary discussion of questions relating to pensions, the experiences of some one local committee, a department of questions and answers, and one for correspondence. It is printed on cheap paper, but in good type, so that it has a dignified and authoritative look; it contains sixteen pages or so; and the price is one penny. The motto it bears is a sentence from Lincoln's inaugural address of 1865: "Let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans."

Accomplishments of the Statutory Committee

The strongest impression after reviewing the work of the Statutory Committee is one of admiration for what it was able to accomplish in the face of the difficulties under which it operated. When these difficulties are appreciated—the financial problems, the anomalous status of the committee, the lack of suitable offices, the difficulty in getting together a staff, the variety of new questions demanding decision at once—the short year's work looks exceedingly creditable. The committee may have appeared "timid" or unnecessarily "cautious" to an impatient

country, but it may be that this dissatisfaction should have been directed toward the fundamental errors of judgment in Parliament rather than toward the way in which the Statutory Committee itself fulfilled the duties imposed upon it with the resources at its command and under the conditions in which it was placed.

The committee really did so much toward working out a national system of care for the disabled, in spite of obstacles, that they almost seem to have put in the wrong the people who foresaw those obstacles and would have removed them. In fact, it appeared that "those three very pregnant lines" of the act of 1915 which Mr. Hayes Fisher defended to the irritation of many who were anxious that more should be done for the disabled, did after all provide everything that could be desired. Like many other faulty plans, it worked better than it should have worked. Those who were responsible for making the best of it may be excused for their natural desire to be allowed to carry on their plans after they had surmounted the worst of the difficulties, and they must be admired for the spirit in which they contributed to the task of their successors.

What the committee accomplished was to establish the principle of cooperation among all existing agencies, public and private, for the providing of facilities for treatment, for training, and for placing in employment; to influence decidedly the kind of facilities which should be offered by the various public and private agencies; to sketch the outline of a national system; to create a network of local committees acting in a general way, at least, on common principles, but with regard to local conditions and individual needs; in short, to lay a foundation, both in theory and in equipment, which has not yet been discarded.

Third Period: Ministry of Pensions—Since January, 1917

The present phase may be regarded as beginning with the establishment of the new Ministry of Pensions in January, 1917, although the Statutory Committee continued in existence through the following August.

When, in October, 1916, the government announced that a bill would be brought in to establish a Pensions Board under one of the existing Ministries, the Statutory Committee took a legitimate interest and asked for an opportunity to express their views on the proposals affecting their position. This request was granted. Representatives of the committee had two interviews with Mr. Arthur Henderson, who had charge of the bill, and the following letter was addressed to the Prime Minister:

SIR: The Statutory Committee beg to thank you for acceding to their request that they should be made acquainted with the proposals of the government with regard to pensions. Mr. Arthur Henderson has most courteously explained to some of our members that the government desire to form a Pensions Board and that the Statutory Committee should hand over to that board the administration of the bulk of their supplementary pensions for the army. The committee have been at work a little over nine months, and they have carried out the duties imposed upon them by Parliament. Local committees are now formed throughout the Kingdom with the exception of a few places in Ireland; great pains and care have been expended on the drafting of regulations, which have been submitted to Parliament and generally approved; the transference of the work previously done by voluntary societies to the new committees has been effected without friction and with mutual good will, and there has been no hitch in the arrangements; at a time when ordinary staff is unprocurable the committee have gradually, with the help of volunteers, built up an organization, and many of their own members have devoted their time to administrative work.

The committee would wish that the government would allow them to carry out the work for which they have so carefully prepared, and they believe there would be great advantage in the supplementary pensions based on individual needs being administered by an independent committee representative of all sections of the community, and that these pensions should be kept separate from the flat rate pensions claimed by all alike. They realize that the War Office had many difficulties in administering the flat rate pension, and that there was need of a thorough reorganization and they recognize that of late a marked improvement has been effected.

They feel that their object and that of the government is the same, *viz.*, to insure that the best possible measures shall be taken for the benefit of the men who have fought for their country. Consequently, if the Cabinet decide that they desire the committee to hand over the portion of their work suggested above, they are willing to cooperate loyally with the Pensions Board in such a way as the government may direct. The committee understand from Mr. Henderson, and attach to the assurance the greatest importance, that adequate funds will be placed at their disposal by the Treasury for the discharge of the various duties which will be left to them, but they venture to express the hope that at least as liberal pensions will be awarded by the

board as the committee had proposed in the regulations which they have issued after very great thought and care.

I am, sir, your obedient servant, A. WELBY, *Lieut.-Colonel, Acting Secretary.*

THE RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH, M.P.

From this it appears that the committee, whatever its original and personal views as to the wisdom of the principles underlying the establishment of their body and of some of its features, had at least become reconciled to the scheme—as well they might—by dint of the loyal effort they had expended in overcoming the obstacles and making it work.

The bill was amended so as to establish an independent Minister of Pensions, instead of a board in one of the existing departments, and received the Royal Assent on December 22, 1916.

Ministry of Pensions Act, 1916

The purpose of the statute (Ministry of Pensions Act, 1916: 6 and 7 Geo. 5, Ch. 65) is stated in the opening paragraph to be "to unify the administration of such pensions, grants, and allowances as are hereinafter mentioned."

The functions of the new Minister are defined as follows:

2. (1) There shall be transferred to the Minister of Pensions—

(a) The powers and duties of the Admiralty with respect to pensions and grants to persons who have served as officers or men, and to their widows, children, and other dependents, and to persons who have been employed in the nursing service of any of his Majesty's naval forces, other than service pensions, so far as such pensions and grants are payable out of moneys provided by Parliament, and not provided exclusively for the purpose of Greenwich Hospital;

(b) The powers and duties of the Commissioners of the Royal Hospital for Soldiers at Chelsea with respect to the grant and administration of disability pensions and grants other than in-pensions;

(c) The powers and duties of the Army Council and the Secretary of State for the War Department with respect to pensions and grants to persons who have served as officers or soldiers, and to their widows, children, and other dependents, and to persons who have been employed in the nursing service of any of his Majesty's military forces, other than service pensions;

And his Majesty may by order in council make such adaptations in the enactments relating to such powers and duties as aforesaid as may be necessary to make exercisable by the Minister and his officers the powers and

duties of the several authorities above mentioned and their officers, and may fix the time or times as from which the several powers and duties are to be transferred to the Minister.

Relations with the Statutory Committee

It was contemplated that the Statutory Commitee would continue to exercise its original functions, but under the new Minister:

3. The powers and duties of the Statutory Committee under the Naval and Military War Pensions, etc., Act, 1915, shall be exercised and performed by that committee under the control of, and in accordance with, the instructions of the Minister of Pensions, and the Statutory Committee shall render to the Minister of Pensions advice and assistance in respect of any matter on which such advice and assistance is requested by the Minister.

4. The local committees constituted under the Naval and Military War Pensions, etc., Act, 1915, shall, at the instance of the Minister of Pensions, exercise, with respect to pensions and grants administered by that Minister, all such functions as to inquiring, reporting, collecting, and furnishing information, making recommendations and distributing grants, as by the said act are exercisable by those committees at the instance of the Statutory Committee.

Mr. G. N. Barnes, a member of the committee, was appointed to the new portfolio. The committee assured Mr. Barnes of their desire to cooperate in every possible way, and in conference a *modus operandi* was agreed upon.

It was hoped that the Statutory Committee could still render useful service, and the arrangements above referred to seemed to afford a basis on which they could work in loyal cooperation with the Minister. As time went on, however, it was found by the Minister that he desired more direct control over the treatment and training of disabled men, and that communications from local committees were frequently made to him direct, and though the cordial relations between the Minister and the committee had never been impaired the administrative difficulties proved so great that on the 19th of April the committee wrote the following letter to the Prime Minister:

Sir: I am directed by the War Pensions, etc., Statutory Committee to state that they have carefully considered their present position and the way in which the functions intrusted to them by the Naval and Military War Pensions, etc., Act, 1915, can best be performed, regard being had to the establishment of the Ministry of Pensions. They have come to the conclusion that in the public interest, and also in that of those for whose benefit the Statutory Committee were constituted, it is desirable that their functions should,

subject to the necessary modifications, be transferred to the Minister of Pensions.

Accordingly, at their meeting today, they passed a resolution to this effect, and directed that copies of it should be sent to you and to the Pensions Minister.

The resolution is as follows:

> That in the opinion of the Statutory Committee the time has arrived when their functions under the Naval and Military War Pensions, etc., Act, 1915, should, subject to the necessary modifications, be transferred to the Minister of Pensions.

As you are aware, the act of 1915 was passed "to make better provision as to the pensions, grants, and allowances made in respect of the present war to officers and men in the naval and military service of his Majesty and their dependents, and the care of officers and men disabled in consequence of the present war, and for the purposes connected therewith," and it provided for the constitution of the Statutory Committee with a view to giving effect to the objects of the act.

The members of the committee willingly accepted appointment, and they have done their best to carry out their functions and to further the interests of those for whose benefit the act was passed. Under schemes sanctioned by them, more than 300 local committees have been established for the purpose of the act; they have, with the approval of the Treasury, framed regulations under which supplementary separation allowances are paid by the local committees; further regulations have been made by them which have formed the basis of the new royal warrant and order in council relating to pensions and grants, and they have done much work with regard to arrangements for the treatment, training, and employment of disabled men.

The passing of the Ministry of Pensions Act, 1916, which provides that the powers and duties of the committee shall be exercised under the control and in accordance with the instructions of the Minister of Pensions, and subsequent developments have entirely altered their position.

There is a very cordial feeling between the committee and the Minister, and they have done everything in their power to assist him at the outset of his work. They feel, however, that the present position is anomalous, and that the functions now shared between the Minister and themselves would in the future be best carried out by him alone. They think that it is impracticable, without grave inconvenience, that they and also the Minister should deal with the same matters; they consider that there should be undivided responsibility, and that there should be only one central authority, to whom the local committees should look for guidance and control.

Legislation will, of course, be necessary to give effect to the proposal, and the Statutory Committee would urge that such legislation should be obtained as soon as possible, as some time must be taken up on the requisite transitional arrangements.

The committee understand that the reassessments of the pensions of sailors and soldiers and their dependents under the order in council and the royal warrant will have been finished by the end of June, and that the

corresponding documents relating to officers are nearly ready. They do not desire to relinquish their functions until the arrangements of the Pensions Minister are completed and they can feel assured that no hardship could result from their retirement to any of those who receive grants under their regulations.

It would be essential to secure that the persons who have now, or may hereafter have, interests under the regulations of the Statutory Committee, should be safeguarded so that such persons may be in no way prejudiced by the alteration in the arrangements. This specially applies with respect to grants made where no allowance or pensions are payable out of public funds, and also to those for the education of the children of deceased or disabled officers and men.

These grants differ in character from those ordinarily administered by a department of the government, and are in no way covered by the royal warrant or the order in council. They are made under regulations approved by the Treasury, and the fact that they may be given has been somewhat widely made known.

It may be found desirable that the administration of these grants should be intrusted to the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, who already carry kindred work, if they are willing to undertake it, and that a capital sum of suitable amount should be transferred to them from the sum of £1,000,000 placed at the disposal of the Statutory Committee under Section 1 of the Naval and Military War Pensions, etc. (Expenses), Act, 1916.

The Statutory Committee are in possession of some funds voluntarily subscribed for specific purposes, and they suggest that these, too, might be transferred to the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, and be administered by that body, particularly as in some instances the funds were derived from them.

The committee presume that provision would be made for the transfer to the Pensions Ministry of their staff, whose interests they would wish to have safeguarded. In particular, they would desire that their Secretary should be placed in a position of not less value than that which he now occupies.

I am directed to add that if the Minister of Pensions at any time feels that the experience gained by members of the Statutory Committee or of their subcommittees would be of service to him, it would be freely placed at his disposal.

The Statutory Committee have sent a copy of this letter to the Minister of Pensions, and they hope it may be found practicable to give effect to their wishes.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

E. A. Stanton, *Lieut.-Colonel,*
Secretary.

The Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister, M. P.,
10, Downing Street, S. W. 1.

This action "had the concurrence of the Pensions Minister, whose loyalty to his old colleagues had prevented his raising the question himself, but who was agreed that it was desirable that a complete amalgamation should take place."

Dissolution of the Statutory Committee

The act effecting the desired "amalgamation"[1] received the royal assent on August 21, 1917. It provides for the dissolution of the Statutory Committee and the transfer to the Minister of Pensions, or to a "Special Grants Committee" to be established by the Minister of Pensions, of all the powers, duties and functions of the Statutory Committee except such as were repealed to harmonize with the new machinery.

The constitution and power of the Special Grants Committee are defined as follows:

2.—(1) The Minister of Pensions shall, as soon as may be after the passing of this act, constitute for the purposes of this act a committee, which shall be known as the Special Grants Committee and shall consist of such number of persons, not being more than twelve, as the Minister shall determine.

(2) In appointing the members of the committee the Minister of Pensions shall have regard to the desirability of including among their number persons who have acquired special knowledge as members of the Statutory Committee, or of any subcommittee thereof, or of a local committee.

(3) As from the appointed date there shall be transferred to the Special Grants Committee those functions of the Statutory Committee which are specified in paragraphs (a), (b), (f), (g), and (h)[2] of Subsection (1) of Section 3 of the principal act, and all questions which may arise with respect to the amount of any grant or allowance to be made under paragraphs (c), (d), (e), or (k)[2] of the said subsection shall stand referred to and be determined by the Special Grants Committee.

(4) The Special Grants Committee may, subject to the approval of the Minister of Pensions, make regulations with respect to their proceedings and the exercise of the functions transferred to them under this act, and the power of the committee to make regulations under paragraph (b) of Subsection (1) of Section 3 of the principal act shall be exercised subject to the approval of the Minister.

(5) The Special Grants Committee shall render to the Minister of Pen-

[1] Naval and Military War Pensions, etc. (Transfer of Powers) Act, 1917. 7 and 8 Geo. 5, Ch. 37.

[2] The paragraphs which apply to the disabled are quoted above, page 129.

sions such information, advice, and assistance as he may require in connection with any matters arising under this act.

It is provided that the staff of the Statutory Committee should be transferred to the Ministry of Pensions. The funds and other property are disposed of as follows:

(2) Out of the funds belonging to the Statutory Committee derived from or representing money provided by Parliament, there shall be transferred to a special account to be opened for the purpose, in accordance with directions to be given by the Treasury, to be called "the Ministry of Pensions (Special Grants) Account" (hereinafter referred to as "the special grants account") the sum of £500,000, and the balance of such funds shall be paid into the Exchequer.

(3) All other property belonging to the Statutory Committee shall be transferred to the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, and shall be held and applied by them upon the trusts and for the purposes upon and for which it was held and applicable by the Statutory Committee.

Revision of Pensions

The first undertaking of the Minister of Pensions, Mr. Barnes, was to reconsider the terms of the existing arrangements as to pensions. A new royal warrant and a new order in council were issued on March 29 and March 30, respectively, to have effect from April 1, 1917. It was provided that claims which had been dealt with under previous provisions, and which would receive more favorable treatment under the new terms, might be reassessed at the convenience of the Minister of Pensions, "with retrospective effect" from April 1, 1917. On the other hand, the grant to any man who had been in the service before the date of the new warrant might be assessed under the terms of the previous warrants in case they were more favorable to him.

Two important changes in principle were introduced in the new warrant and the new order, which made practically identical provisions for soldiers and sailors.

The attempt to fix pensions for partial disability on the basis of the degree of impairment of earning capacity, had been found "absolutely unworkable," as was predicted in the earliest dis-

cussions. It put on the military medical boards which made the decisions the necessity of foreseeing not only the probable rate of progress in the man's physical condition, but also what the demand would be in the labor market for just the degree and kind of work he could do. To avoid errors in judgment as far as possible, awards were generally made first for six months, and reconsidered at the end of that time on the basis of a reexamination both as to physical condition and as to earning power. Fear of losing part of his pension discouraged a man from making the most of his abilities, and employers saw no reason for increasing a man's wages when the effect would be automatically to reduce his pension. At the same time, industrial conditions were such that almost any man, unless very badly crippled, could earn at least 25 shillings a week, which was the maximum (for a single man) to which the pension, added to his earnings, might bring up his income.

This principle, in other words, imposed an impossible task on the medical boards; it encouraged idleness; it "supplemented wages" in the sense abhorrent to economists. It was abandoned in the new warrant, with great relief to all concerned, and in its place the nature of the disability was made the determining factor. A schedule was prepared and appended to the warrant, in which the more obvious injuries are divided into eight classes, with a specified proportion of the full pension, ranging from twenty to one hundred per cent, assigned to each class; and it was provided that in the case of disability from disease and injuries not included in the schedule "the pension may be assessed at the degree in the schedule which is held most closely to represent the disablement corresponding to the injury or disease." There is still, of course, necessity for discrimination and judgment on the part of the awarding officers, but the basis has been made as nearly objective as is possible.

The 100 per cent pension ranged from 27 shillings 6 pence for a private to 42 shillings 6 pence for a warrant officer, Class I. In addition, any disabled man "may be granted . . . a further allowance for each child under the age of sixteen at such

proportion of the following weekly rates, as corresponds to the degree of disablement at which the man is assessed for pension:

	s.	d.
For a first child	5	0
For a second child	4	2
For a third child	3	4
For each child after the third	2	6

(2) The allowance may (subject to the continuance of the pension) be granted or continued beyond the age of 16 in the case of apprentices receiving not more than nominal wages, or of children being educated at secondary schools, technical institutes or universities, and may be granted or continued between the ages of 16 and 21 in the case of a child incapable through mental or physical infirmity of earning a living, provided the infirmity existed before the child attained the age of 16.

A special provision authorized an additional allowance to meet cost of attendance in the case of a man in the first class of disability:

6A.—In addition to any pension awarded under the foregoing articles there may be granted, under such conditions as the Minister of Pensions may determine, to or on behalf of a man disabled in the highest degree, an allowance not exceeding 20 shillings a week in any case where the constant attendance of a second person is necessary.

The classification of injuries in the appended schedule was as follows:

Degree of Disablement		Nature of Injury	Amount of Personal Pension
Class	%		
1	100	Loss of two or more limbs; of an arm and an eye; of a leg and an eye; of both hands or of all fingers and thumbs; of a hand and a foot; total loss of sight; total paralysis; lunacy; wounds, injuries, or disease resulting in disabled man being permanently bedridden; wounds of or injuries to internal, thoracic or abdominal organs, involving total permanent disabling effects; wounds of or injuries to head or brain involving total permanent disabling effects, or Jacksonian epilepsy; very severe facial disfigurement; advanced cases of incurable disease	27s. 6d.
2	80	Loss of both feet; amputation of right arm at shoulder joint; severe facial disfigurement; total loss of speech	22s. 0d.
3	70	Short thigh amputation of leg with pelvic band, or of left arm at shoulder joint, or of right arm above or through elbow; total deafness	19s. 3d.

Degree of Disablement		Nature of Injury	Amount of Personal Pension
Class	%		
4	60	Amputation of leg above knee (other than 3) and through knee, or of left arm above or through elbow, or of right arm below elbow	16s. 6d.
5	50	Amputation of leg below knee (including Symes' and Chopart's amputation), or of left arm below elbow; loss of vision of one eye	13s. 9d.
6	40	Loss of thumb or of four fingers of right hand	11s. 0d.
7	30	Loss of thumb or of four fingers of left hand, or of three fingers of right hand	8s. 3d.
8	20	Loss of two fingers of either hand	5s. 6d.

A note provides that "in the case of left-handed men, certified to be such, the compensation in respect of the left arm, hand, etc., will be the same as for a right arm, hand, etc." It does not specify that in such cases the amount for the right arm, hand, etc., will be the amount named for the left in ordinary cases, though that would seem to be a natural corollary.

Provision was made in the warrant for gratuities in the case of disabilities assessed at less than 20 per cent, and in the case of disability of any degree which is not due to service, to cover, for example, cases of breakdown after a few weeks of training, due to errors of judgment on the part of recruiting officers:

7.—(1) In any case where the degree of disablement is assessed at less than 20 per cent, or where it is considered more in the interests of the soldier, a gratuity or temporary allowance may be granted in place of any pension and children's allowances. The grant will be subject to such conditions as the Minister of Pensions may determine, and its amount will not exceed £200 and will depend on the extent of the disablement and on the other circumstances of the case.

(2) A soldier discharged as medically unfit for further service, such unfitness being neither attributable to nor aggravated by military service, and not being due to the serious negligence or misconduct of the discharged man, may be granted a gratuity or temporary allowance. The grant will be subject to such conditions as the Minister of Pensions may determine. In exceptional circumstances it may amount to a sum not exceeding £100, and generally it will depend on the extent to which the man is incapacitated, on the length and character of his service, and on the other circumstances of the case.

The second change in principle was to introduce what is called the "alternative pension," which takes into account the financial status of the family before the war. The principle

that only a "flat rate" should be provided from public funds, and that cases of exceptional hardship should be cared for in some other way, had been definitely abandoned as a theory by the transfer of the responsibility for supplementary allowances and special grants from the Statutory Committee to the Special Grants Committee of the Ministry of Pensions (see above, page 166), as it had previously, of necessity, been ignored in practice because of the impossibility of obtaining funds for the purpose from private sources; but the alternative pension goes farther than the supplementary allowances and special grants, in that it is not limited to cases of exceptional hardship, but applies to any man whose minimum pension and present earnings are less than his earnings before the war. It was expected to benefit especially professional men and skilled mechanics. The provision is as follows:

3. Any disabled man pensioned under Article 1 of this our warrant who makes application and shows that the minimum pension with children's allowances (if any) which he has been granted, together with the average earnings (if any) of which he remains capable, are less than his prewar earnings, may be granted, temporarily or permanently, in lieu of the minimum pension and children's allowances, a pension which, together with the average earnings (if any) of which he is judged capable, shall not exceed his prewar earnings up to a maximum of 50 shillings a week, plus half of any prewar earnings between 50 shillings and 100 shillings a week.

The theory behind this provision—that as far as possible the prewar standard of living shall be maintained—is both comprehensible and seductive, but the mechanism seems exceedingly delicate. It involves the same difficulties of determining income as the supplementary grants, and it requires an estimate of the average earnings of which the man is capable, as did the pensions for partial disability before the principle was abandoned in that connection. By September, 1917, four or five hundred alternative pensions had been granted. A circular letter to the secretaries of the Local War Pensions Committees in April, 1918, suggests that the provision be brought to the special notice of widows and totally disabled men "in all cases where there is reasonable probability that prewar earnings exceeded 27 shill-

ings 6 pence a week," since it seems that it is "not widely known or sufficiently understood." Partially disabled men are not included in this recommendation, although the provision applies to them as well, because "the partially disabled man, where he is able to work at his former occupation, will in many cases, owing to the higher wages now being paid, have earning capacity not appreciably less than before the war, and so will not be eligible for an alternative pension."

Provision is made for the review of grants made before the final condition of disablement is reached, and it is expressly stipulated that after a permanent pension has been granted it shall not be reduced because of an increase in earning capacity.

5.—(1) In the case of a man whose disablement has not reached its final condition a pension may be temporarily granted at the rate appropriate to his temporary disablement, and the grant shall be reviewed from time to time until a permanent assessment can be made.

(2) When a permanent pension has been granted it shall not be altered on account of any change in the man's earning capacity, whether resulting from training or other cause; neither shall it be subject to review except—

(a) When a man whose pension is assessed under Article 1 of this our warrant claims that there has been a substantial increase in the extent of the disablement due to the original cause.

(b) When a man whose pension is assessed under Articles 1 and 2 of this our warrant shows that it would be more advantageous to him to be assessed under Article 3.

In addition to the two changes in principle, several important innovations were introduced into the new warrant with the object of "bringing pressure to bear on the man to make him undergo treatment" and of "inducing him to undergo training" when these "are considered to be for his good." A desire to reassure suspicion, and to encourage men, almost to the point of pleading, to take advantage of available opportunities, is plainly visible between the lines of this official document.

The special provisions designed to induce men to undergo treatment or training are the following:

4. Half the pension and allowances (if any) awarded under the preceding articles may be subject to the condition that the disabled man shall undergo medical treatment in or at a sanatorium, hospital, convalescent home or

otherwise, for any period during which it may be certified that such treatment is necessary in his interests.

6.—(1) In any case where it is certified that a disabled man should, in consequence of his disablement, undergo any special course of medical treatment or be treated in or at a sanatorium, hospital, convalescent home, asylum, or other institution, or where it is decided that he should receive training in a technical institution or otherwise, and he is deemed unable in consequence to provide for his own support, and that of his family, there may be granted to or in respect of him, in lieu of any pension awarded to him, under the preceding articles of this our warrant for the period during which he is undergoing such treatment or training, and subject to such conditions as the Minister of Pensions may determine, either—

(a) An allowance of an amount not less than that corresponding to the highest degree of disablement as shown in the first schedule to this our warrant, and in the case of a man whose treatment or training necessitates the man living away from home, a further allowance which will secure to his wife and children or to a dependent supported by him up to the time when his treatment or training commences, an amount not less than the pensions and allowances to which, if eligible, they would have been entitled under Part II of this our warrant; or,

(b) An allowance equal to the maximum pension which would be payable to him under Article 3 of this our warrant if he were without earning capacity, whichever is the greater.

(2) A deduction of such an amount and under such conditions as the Minister of Pensions may determine may be made from any allowance granted under subsection 1 of this article, on account of the cost of the disabled man's maintenance in an institution.

(3) Any charges, fees, or expenses in respect of the treatment or training of a disabled man that are not otherwise provided for may be paid under such conditions as the Minister of Pensions may determine.

(4) At the termination of any period of training as is provided for in this article, there may be granted to the disabled man an amount equal to the sum of 5 shillings for each week of the period during which he has been undergoing training.

(5) In any case where it is certified that a disabled man should, in consequence of his disablement, undergo medical treatment in circumstances which do not render him unable to provide for his own support and that of his family, but require him to absent himself from his work on one or more occasions in a week, there may be granted to him in addition to any pension awarded to him under the preceding articles of this our warrant an allowance not exceeding 10 shillings a week for the time he is required so to absent himself, the allowance to be subject to such conditions as the Minister of Pensions may determine.

The warrant and order in council of 1918 (Cd. 9040) introduced no new principles, but several provisions were revised

in the direction of greater liberality. Allowances for children were raised, to stand as follows:

For a first child	6s. 8d.
For a second child	5s.
For each child after the second	4s. 2d.

For the disabled man under treatment or training, full allowances for children are provided, and in case the treatment or training necessitates his living away from home, allowances also for his wife and other dependents, instead of the somewhat discretionary amounts provided in 1917 (see above, page 173, 6.—(1) (a)). The provision now stands as follows:

> An allowance of an amount equivalent to that corresponding to the highest degree of disablement . . . together with an allowance in respect of each child at the full rate, as in Article 2 (1), and in the case of a man whose treatment or training necessitates the man living away from home, a further allowance which will secure to his wife an amount equivalent to the pension authorized for a widow, . . . or to a dependent supported by him up to the time when his treatment or training commences, such amount not exceeding the amount of ascertained dependence up to 10 shillings a week, and children's allowances. . . .

Added to the bonus at the end of a course of training (see 6—(4) page 173, above) is the provision:

> And there may be a further grant not exceeding £10 for the purchase of tools if required to be provided by the man in the trade in which he has been trained.

To the paragraph about alternative pensions (see above page 171) is added the clause:

> Provided that in the case of a man who has lost both arms or both legs or the sight of both eyes, the average earnings (if any) of which he may be capable shall not be taken into account.

For soldiers whose disablement is not attributable to nor aggravated by military service, it is provided that the sum which may be granted may be as high as £150, instead of £100, as in the warrant of 1917 (see 7—(2), page 170, above); also, that if such a man is in need of institutional treatment, it shall be provided for the period of the war and for twelve months after

its close, and that full allowances shall be paid to his wife and children while he is under treatment.

In the schedule of injuries several changes are made, all in the direction of higher rating. Loss of both feet is transferred from Class 2 to Class 1. Amputation of the right arm at the shoulder joint is taken out of the group which was originally Class 2 and is made a class by itself, rated at 90 per cent, with a minimum pension of 24 shillings 9 pence. Amputation of the left arm at the shoulder joint is moved up from 70 per cent to 80 per cent. The other ratings remain the same, but the class numbers are changed, on account of the interpolation of a grade at 90 per cent, and so there are nine classes instead of eight.

Besides these various increases in rates and additional financial provisions, the only change in the warrant affecting disabled men is one making more definite the provision for a temporary pension in the case of men whose disability has not reached its final form:

> 1.—(2) Except in those cases where the disablement has reached its final condition a disablement pension shall be temporary, at the rate appropriate to the temporary disablement, and the grant shall be reviewed from time to time until a permanent assessment can be made or the grant ceases.

Another warrant under the same date (April 17, 1918) provides that the pensions of men totally disabled in consequence of service in former wars "may be increased by the difference between his present rate of pension and the minimum pension which he might have received according to his rank at the time of discharge for the highest degree of disablement under our royal warrant of the 29th March, 1917, or any warrant amending the same if he had been subject to the provisions of our said royal warrant of the 29th March, 1917, or any such amending warrant as aforesaid."

The Special Grants Committee of the Ministry of Pensions, to which was transferred the functions of the Statutory Committee relating to supplementary and special allowances, did not change the general principles which had been adopted by its predecessor. The regulations it issued in 1918 differ from those

of the Statutory Committee (see above, pages 140-143) chiefly in being more precise and definite. The interpretation of "exceptional circumstances" is not materially modified. A fixed maximum is set for the allowances which may be made supplementary of the state pension in "exceptional circumstances" in place of the variable depending on prewar income which was originally established: 10 shillings a week, together with an allowance of 2 shillings 6 pence a week for each child. For the special allowances to disabled men who, though their disablement is due to service, are for some reason not eligible to state pensions, and are in circumstances of "exceptional hardship," the maximum is raised from 20 shillings a week to 27 shillings 6 pence, with children's allowances in each case. Both supplementary allowances and special allowances are to be made for only six months at a time. Supplementary grants in cases "where the general and financial circumstances of sailors or soldiers were similar to those of officers," to bring up the payments from the state to "the scale applicable to officers," are retained. Grants for the education of children of deceased or disabled men are also retained. The scale is as follows:

(a) In the case of a child over 5 and under 13 years of age, attending day school, the school fees to an amount not exceeding £20 a year and a sum not exceeding £5 a year for traveling and necessary expenses;

(b) In the case of a child over 13 and under 21 years of age, attending a day school, the school fees to an amount not exceeding £25 a year and a sum not exceeding £10 a year for traveling and necessary expenses;

(c) In the case of a child under 21 years of age, attending a boarding school or college, necessitating residence away from home, a sum not exceeding £50 a year.

Scholarships held by the child are "taken into consideration"; attendance is sanctioned only at schools approved by the local education authority or by the committee; and the payment of grants is made conditional upon satisfactory reports of "the industry and conduct of the child."

Supplementary circulars issued in 1918 specify that special grants up to 10 shillings a week may be made to disabled men for special diet, on the certificate of the Medical Referee; and

that grants up to £25 may be made "to start skilled or competent disabled men in trade or business."

A Pensions Appeals Tribunal has been instituted by the Ministry of Pensions to decide the single issue as to whether or not the disablement should be accepted as "attributable" or "aggravated."

Treatment and Training

Although a large part of the brief period of service of the first Minister of Pensions was necessarily occupied with the preliminary work of revising the terms of pensions and allowances, it seems to have been his conception that the duties of the Ministry with respect to treatment and training were its most important responsibilities. Mr. John Hodge, who succeeded Mr. Barnes, expressed this idea by referring to his office as the "Ministry of Restoration." Colonel Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions, commenting on this felicitous *mot* of the Minister's, writes in the *War Pensions Gazette* for October, 1917, that no doubt "Ministry of Pensions" very inadequately expresses the duties and functions of the office, for we owe a much heavier debt to the disabled man than a mere money compensation. "It is our duty to put him back, to restore him, in fact, to society healed and mended in body and mind so far as is possible." There can be no doubt that this idea, this theory of responsibility, has been accepted by the English people, and that much effort has been and is being expended to realize it. That it is adequately realized probably no one would venture to maintain.

To hasten the provision of additional facilities for treatment of those who need care after discharge from the army or navy, Mr. Barnes arranged joint institutional committees of the Ministry of Pensions, the War Office, and the Red Cross, one for England and one for Scotland. These committees have taken measures to increase the accommodations for neurasthenics and epileptics in both countries, for paraplegics and advanced cases of tuberculosis in England, and for orthopedic

treatment in Scotland. Early in 1918 a Director of Medical Services was appointed, coordinating the work of these committees, which cease to exist, and of the Chelsea Board and the Boards of Neurasthenics, in a single department.[1] Sir John Collie, M.D., C.M.G., is the first incumbent of this office, the establishment of which is regarded as a "change of supreme importance" in the administrative organization of the Ministry of Pensions. A Special Aural Board was set up by the Ministry in March, 1918, to assess for pension purposes the degree of disablement in any case referred to it by the Ministry, and to advise as to treatment and as to training in lip-reading. A new element which has been added to the facilities for treatment after discharge is the Orthopedic Annex, attached to civil hospitals, to provide for out-patient treatment of discharged men and also for the continuation of their training in technical workshops.

Reeducation and reestablishment in civil life are under the Director of Training of the Ministry of Pensions, who is Major Robert Mitchell, formerly director of the Regent Street Polytechnic in London. Agencies have sprung up all over the country as the result of the public desire to supply facilities for reeducation. Some are off-shoots of existing educational institutions, some of private charities; some are new organizations formed for the purpose; some represent the interest of private manufacturers and of the city livery companies. The part played by the technical schools has been especially conspicuous.[2]

Local committees and joint committees are constantly devising new "schemes" for training and presenting them to the Pensions Ministry for approval. Sanction was given, for example, to a plan of the joint committee of Connaught and Leinster for training pantrymen, waiters, and carvers in Dublin, with the cooperation of the leading hotels. Later the same resourceful committee proposed a plan for training in the care and

[1] Editorial in *Recalled to Life*, April, 1918.

[2] John Culbert Faries: *Training in English Technical Schools for Disabled Soldiers.* Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men: Series I, No. 8. This monograph also contains accounts of the Lancashire and the Yorkshire "schemes" for training.

management of horses. The local committee of Northampton submitted a scheme for a course in hair dressing. Negotiations were in progress about the same time with the Ministry of Munitions in regard to training a limited number of men in the making of optical instruments, the demand for which has been enormously increased by the war, while the foreign supply—chiefly from Germany, Austria and America—has been cut off.[1]

Relatively little has been done for the man of better education. The proposal for training in making optical instruments may be a step in that direction. Plans are said to be under way for preparing suitable candidates as teachers in elementary schools; and the Committee of the Lord Kitchener Memorial Fund has decided to offer scholarships to ex-soldiers—from which presumably disabled men would not be debarred if otherwise qualified—for studying commercial methods abroad, especially in the countries of the Allies.[2]

The total number of men under training in March, 1918, not including those under the Ministry of Munitions (see page 153), was 2787.[3]

A circular of the Ministry of Pensions (No. 73, April, 1918) defines what constitutes "eligibility for training." Training is provided at public expense only in cases in which the disablement is due to or aggravated by service in the present war, and in such cases not for a man "who merely wishes to change his employment if his disablement does not necessitate a change," but only on one of the following grounds:

(1) That he is physically quite unable to resume his old occupation;

(2) That he is unable to resume his prewar occupation without risk of injury to his health;

(3) That he has been a skilled workman prior to enlistment and in consequence of his disablement can not be expected to obtain the wages he would otherwise have earned in his previous occupation;

(4) That he has been an unskilled workman prior to enlistment and his disablement makes it probable that his continued employment in his previous occupation would be precarious.

[1] *War Pensions Gazette,* October and November, 1917.
[2] C. W. Hutt: *The Future of the Disabled Soldier,* Chapter III.
[3] *War Pensions Gazette,* April, 1918.

Conclusion: Principles, Theories and Results in England

Government Pensions to Meet All Essential Needs

Gathering up from this lengthy recital of England's thought and action with reference to disabled soldiers, the conclusions England has reached on disputed points, the first thing we notice is that the English system is based on the theory of liberal pensions and supplementary grants from public funds, sufficient to insure not only a reasonable standard of living, but a standard approaching that which the individual family maintained before the war. The original theory that needs arising from variations in standard of living and family circumstances, over and above those provided for by a "flat rate" pension, should be met by private charity, has been abandoned.

This is not to say that a unanimous opinion has been reached on this question. On the contrary, every shade of theory may still be found among those whose opinions are best entitled to respect. Differences on this point seem to depend less on experience than on individual predisposition as to the function of the state and the "proper" relation between public and private charity. Many still believe, and among them not only the former vice chairman of the Statutory Committee but also some of the staff of the present Pensions Ministry, that a system of voluntary committees, disbursing only funds raised from private subscription, to supplement—or, as they like to say, "on top of" —a flat rate of government pension, is the ideal arrangement. Others, again, think that the local committees should be merely advisory, with no financial powers or responsibility whatever; still others, that it would be better that the official pensions should be given in an impersonal, objective way, leaving to voluntary agencies the liberty of doing whatever they see fit, but without official connection with them—without, as it were, recognizing them as a part of the scheme. Notwithstanding all these variants in private views, the position which has been embodied in legislation as the decision of the nation is that, while

there will always be a place for charity to perform works of supererogation, so to speak, everything that is essential should be done by the government.

Pensions Not Dependent on Earnings

The second principle which has been settled is that the amount of the pension should not depend on the possible or actual earnings of the man. Although there is still, in the provisions for alternative pensions and supplementary allowances, a lingering survival of the discarded theory, and although there may be some who would still cling to it as an ideal if it did not have such untoward practical results, the demonstration which the country has had that it is not "workable," just as it was not workable long ago when applied to the relief of agricultural laborers, has apparently been conclusive.

Opportunities and Inducements, Not Compulsion

In the third place, England has made up her mind as to the limits of military authority over the disabled man, and the degree of compulsion which the state should exercise as to his future life. Men are kept under military authority as long as they need active hospital treatment for some condition which does not require too long a period of institutional care: that is, for men who lose a limb, until the stump is healed and the artificial limb is fitted and adjusted; while neurasthenics and paraplegics and tuberculous are discharged as soon as that can be done decently, without danger to the patient. This represents a compromise between the army practice at the outbreak of the war, when men were discharged as soon as it was clear that they would not be able to go back into service, and the position taken by some that they should be kept under the jurisdiction of the War Office until they were cured or pronounced incurable. The latter course was out of the question, because of the practical necessity of using the utmost facilities at the command of the military authorities for keeping up the forces in the field, and furthermore, its earlier theoretical proponents have receded

somewhat from their position, because it has appeared that a continuance of military discipline when the man himself can no longer see the necessity for it has an unfavorable effect on his progress toward health.

As to the exercise of compulsion after discharge from the army or navy, the theory is slightly different with reference to treatment and to training. Theoretically, a man is obliged to "undergo" the treatment prescribed for him on discharge, on penalty of having half his pension withheld. In practice, however, treatment is not enforced, except in case of infectious diseases, among which tuberculosis is not ordinarily included, probably because of lack of accommodations in hospitals and sanatoria.

Training is not compulsory at any stage—not even in the military orthopedic hospitals and at the limb-fitting institutions before the men are discharged. The theory seems to be that the state should provide opportunities, but that the men should be free to take them or leave them. Heavy financial inducements are offered and various forms of persuasion are used, but there is no interference with the individual's liberty to exercise poor judgment if he so elects. Everybody knows that most of the men are using poor judgment, going to work at anything they can get at the high wages which are current, instead of taking advantage of a chance to learn a trade which will always command good wages, but even the theorists hardly go further than to wish it were feasible (recognizing that it is not) to force them to do what they should do. The extreme position for the use of authority is taken by Mr. L. V. Shairp, writing in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1917. While he recognizes that "you can not help a man unless he is willing to learn," still he thinks it would be possible to create a willingness if "you first secure his trust and confidence, and make it perfectly clear that a definite responsibility is recognized for his reinstatement in civil life and for the adequate maintenance of himself and his family until he is able to earn enough for the purpose himself. . . . We should have accomplished much indeed if we could but say here-

after that we had mobilized labor in the defense of the principles of liberty, and had demobilized an army of skilled workmen that liberty might be enjoyed in the full exercise of heightened capacity." That would, of course, be very fine, but it does not present itself as a feasible ideal. The practical men who are handling discharged soldiers all agree that if training were compulsory the men would do the work in such a way and with such a spirit that they would get nothing out of it.

Use of Private Enterprise and of Existing Agencies

The fundamental principle that it is the duty of the state to supply all essential needs does not mean in Great Britain either a new series of institutions created by the government or the "taking over" wholesale by the government of existing agencies. It means that a department of government, with a Cabinet Minister, is charged with seeing that the state's responsibility is carried out, but that this department is expected to fulfil its function largely by stimulating local and private effort. All the elements of a comprehensive system which already exist in departments of government or in private charitable enterprises are utilized; missing features are supplied in whatever way seems most expedient, but ordinarily by a combination of private and public effort, plant and equipment frequently being supplied by the former, running expenses by the latter.

While the development of this "theory" has probably been due largely to the exigencies of the situation—the necessity of using what is at hand or going without—still it is a theory which would naturally be congenial to the English mind and temper.

Many examples of this coordination of existing facilities have been given in the preceding pages: the use of the National Health Insurance machinery, the labor exchanges, and the institutions of the Local Government Board; the cooperation of the Red Cross in supplying funds for extensions of charitable institutions; the activity of the polytechnics in offering classes; the responsibility put on local committees for initiating schemes of training, and so on. The maximum number of elements,

including the military authorities, coordinated into what is on the whole an exceptionally satisfactory working result, is found in the limb-fitting hospitals at Brighton and Roehampton.

Problems of Training

The relation between "curative" and "vocational" work, which has been the subject of heated discussions in France, does not seem to bother the English much. The theory on which manual work is introduced into the orthopedic military hospitals is that it is an important adjunct to treatment, more effective than gymnastics, and that there is no reason why the possible vocational, or prevocational, value should not be recognized and utilized if it is not allowed to interfere with therapeutic considerations. A third object—the economic value of the work—might become a competitor of both the others, though it is not inevitably in conflict with either. Most of the disputes on the subject of curative *versus* vocational work in the hospitals seem to be rather academic than practical. It it hard to see what harm "curative workshops" can do to future economic life, if they are an aid to functional recovery, and if they do now and then start a man in the direction of training, as it would seem probable that they might, or teach him enough about some occupation so that he can utilize the knowledge later in earning a living, so much the better.

The English theory in regard to "orientation" is formulated in the Instructions and Notes furnished by the Ministry of Pensions to the local committees. It is assumed that a man who can go back to his former position or to his former employer is not in need of training, unless his disability is of a sort to make his former occupation precarious. It is considered important that men should not be sent away from home for training unless there are positive reasons in favor of so doing, and a married man may not be sent away without the sanction of the Minister of Pensions, given only when it can be shown that the man will be able to get work in his home district at the end of his proposed course of training or that he is prepared to move

away. In deciding upon the training to be provided for a disabled man, the local committees are instructed to take into consideration the man's own choice of occupation, his previous occupation, the suitability of his choice to his age, disability, and physical condition, the recommendation, if any has been made, by the medical board at the time of his discharge or by any hospital visitor, and above all "the opportunities for earning a permanent livelihood in the occupation."

Extent of Rehabilitation Secured

In general, it would seem that amputations and loss of sight, all surgical cases, and acute medical cases, receive treatment which is as nearly adequate as it is possible to provide, under the pressure and difficulties of the present situation; but that, for obvious reasons, conditions are much less satisfactory with respect to the care of the tuberculous, the neurasthenics, and others disabled by diseases which require a long and costly course of treatment, and that, too, in some cases, still a matter of experiment.

Artificial limbs are probably supplied to all who need them, and the appliances are probably as satisfactory as the present state of the trade—or the art—permits. Although it is found that men do not always make use of their artificial arms, nevertheless they are always supplied. When a man has lost both arms, a Carnes arm is given for one, but as this is both complicated and expensive, a simpler make is supplied for the other.

As to training, it would seem that nearly all the men who care to have it can secure it, but that the proportion who are willing to take any kind of a course is small. The number of deaf who can be induced to attend the classes in lip-reading after discharge is also disappointing. "Even a very deaf man" can get work under present conditions, and a man who works during the day is too tired to study lip-reading at night.

It was the opinion of Sir Matthew Nathan, Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions, in the fall of 1917, that not more than 15 per cent of all take any training. How many of these 15 per

cent get a thorough course which really gives them a trade for life is a question to which we have no answer. Of the presumptive 85 per cent who get no instruction whatever, we have no means of knowing how many already have training or capacity which insures them success in spite of their disability. It is hard to escape the conclusion, however, that, in spite of the best intentions and promising plans and earnest efforts, the net amount of "reeducation" and "restoration to economic usefulness" is not yet very considerable in proportion to the wreckage created by the war—and also, it might be said, in proportion to the elaborate machinery which has been created in the hope of accomplishing what the nation would like to do for the men disabled in the war.

A competent observer outside the Ministry summed up the situation about the same time by saying that reeducation had "hardly yet been dealt with except in a partial and experimental manner," beyond the work done for the blind at St. Dunstan's. The many voluntary agencies which have been started all over the country are "symptomatic of public sentiment but not an adequate expression of its force." A variety of experience has been gained, "which has doubtless been of great value and may be the justification for what has seemed to some a perilous delay in getting a grip on the question," but no really comprehensive scheme for the whole country is yet in operation.

Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Pensions, and Major Mitchell, Director of Training, are not more complacent than the outside observer just quoted. "Excellent work" has been done, says Sir Arthur,[1] "in most places," but some of the local committees, upon which so much depends, " do not seem to realize their duties sufficiently. . . . They lose touch, or sometimes never get into touch, with disabled men, or content themselves with ascertaining that they have gone back to work without inquiring what sort of work it is. This will not do. We do not want any kind of blind-alley occupation for the men, but something which will enable them

[1] *War Pensions Gazette,* October, 1917.

to live in self-respect and to earn good money in addition to their pensions for the rest of their lives. There is no reason why our disabled heroes should not be better off after the war, notwithstanding the loss of a limb or some other serious disability, than they were before."

More recently Major Mitchell sums up the "Present Position of the Question" as follows:[1] "The number of wounded or invalided soldiers who have received any training since their discharge is small. . . . It could not fairly be expected to be very large, but it is very small. . . . If you visit certain great institutions of training you will see a wonderful work going on; but if you call on the pensions committees of two or three great industrial counties and inquire as to the progress of training, they are pretty certain to say that they have come across very few men who want training or will even accept it when the advantage in their particular case is pressed upon them." The chief difficulty is that the vast majority are not under any overwhelming disability.

> They want to be back at their old homes, near their relations and their wives' relations, to sing in the choir of the old church or chapel, to drink in the snug corner of the old public house, to be employed about the old works, or to take such advantage as they still can of the high wages now going in the old town. And this they can do. . . . What is therefore happening is natural, it is even healthy. But the end will come. To a great extent our disabled men, induced by money wages which four years ago would have seemed very high, are remaining unskilled if they were unskilled before, or are even educating themselves down from the skilled to the unskilled ranks.

In some districts discharged soldiers are employed in large groups on contracts, and when the work is done they go off together to tramp over the country and beg in bands, so that once more the mutilated veteran is encountered by the roadside holding out his hat to the passers-by.

The actual situation at present "clearly . . . puts a limit to our expectations, even though we assume, as here we do, that every authority concerned, whether central or local, is alive to

[1] In *Recalled to Life*, April, 1918.

its task, and is doing its best." Dividing the disabled into three classes, Major Mitchell thinks that

(1) In regard to those "whose disablement for their former trade is evident, while their capacity for other employment may still be assured," *i. e.*, nearly all the blind and a large proportion of those who have lost limbs, "we may claim, and indeed hope, that a good opportunity for adequate training in a promising occupation shall have been presented to and fairly pressed upon every one of them."

(2) The exceptional men, who are awakened by their experiences to new possibilities, may be trusted to look out for themselves if opportunities are available, and there is reason to believe that their courage and initiative will be met at least half way by the resources of the technical schools and the advertising of prospects of employment.

(3) For the "large, indefinite number of the more or less disabled and more or less capable" we can only demand that the energy, intelligence, and public spirit already shown in "some few parts of the country" shall spread over the whole of the United Kingdom and Ireland.

CHAPTER V

Canada

In planning for disabled soldiers Canada had even less to build upon than the mother country, but she attacked the problem with youthful western vigor, and has worked out a system which seems to be adapted to her needs. Although the Canadian Expeditionary Force was not in the field as early as the English army, and although the early stages of treatment of Canadian wounded must of necessity take place across the ocean, so that their presence was not felt at home as an inspiration and goad to action, Canada anticipated England in several steps of progress, and has the distinction of being the first country (except Belgium) to organize the vocational training of disabled soldiers on a national basis, under a central authority.

By correspondence and visits information was scrupulously gathered about what had been done in England and France, in the hope of being able to profit by their experience. But there seems to have been a feeling that conditions were so different in the new world that measures adopted by European countries could not safely be taken as a guide, though they might indeed serve occasionally as a warning. This feeling may have been strengthened by a series of miscalculations at the outset, which were based partly on English experience. It would be amusing, if it were not for the serious consequences involved——the extent to which expectations were contradicted by events. The amount of tuberculosis was greatly underestimated; the number who would be blinded was as much exaggerated; the idea of the kind of care needed by the wounded had to be completely revised; even the total number of men who might be expected back from month to month could not at first be foreseen with any degree of accuracy. With the best intentions to provide in advance of the need, Canada was nevertheless practically meeting an emer-

gency situation for the first year or two at least, and it was only in the spring of 1918 that what promises to be the definitive form of administration finally appeared. The Canadian system has therefore grown out of experience, and is a genuine home product, even though in some features it is similar to that of England and other countries.

By way of definition of terms, and as a background for the concrete description of what has been done for disabled soldiers, the historical development of the different administrative factors in the system will first be outlined. After that the evolution in the rates of pensions and allowances will be traced, and then the work for the care of disabled soldiers in need of treatment, their reeducation and reemployment, as built up by the Military Hospitals Commission and carried on now by that body under its new name of Invalided Soldiers' Commission, in the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, and by the Canadian Army Military Corps.

Outline of Development

In addition to the departments of government which are concerned with this work, and their affiliated voluntary organizations, there is one private agency of national scope which should be noticed, the Canadian Patriotic Fund. Its function with respect to disabled men is now relatively subordinate, both in relation to the rest of its own work and as an element in the provision for the disabled, but at first, when the wounded were beginning to come home, and there was no branch of the government ready to provide for their reception and care, the Patriotic Fund "bridged the gap" until the Military Hospitals Commission was created.

The Canadian Patriotic Fund grew out of the need which was apparent as soon as the British reservists began to join the colors—even before recruiting for the Canadian forces had begun—of providing financial assistance for the dependents left at home. On the initiative of Sir Herbert Ames, member of Parliament from Montreal, the Patriotic Fund was promptly

organized—so promptly that it was incorporated on August 22, 1914. Its object is to "collect, administer, and distribute" a fund "for the assistance in case of need of the wives, children, and dependent relatives of officers and men, residents in Canada, who, during the present war, may be on active service with the naval and military forces of the British Empire and Great Britain's allies." The fund supplements the assigned pay and separation allowance, which are fixed amounts, not varying with the size of the family. The grants of the fund take into account the size of the family and the income before the man joined the forces, and aim at bringing up the total income to a figure which makes possible the maintenance of the usual standard of living, within the limits of a certain maximum.

An amendment of February 24, 1915, extended the object of the corporation by providing that it may also, during the war and for six months after its close, assist in case of need officers and men returning to Canada incapacitated by wounds, injuries, or disease contracted while on active service, who are not in receipt of any gratuity, pension or allowance from his Majesty or from any foreign government in consequence of such incapacity.

Most of the work of the fund is for the families of men in active service, but when a man is disabled the grants from the fund, like pay and separation allowance, continue until his medical treatment is completed and he is discharged from the army. The part of the Patriotic Fund in the scheme for disabled soldiers with a claim on the Canadian Government consists simply in this supplementary contribution to the family in certain cases while the man is undergoing treatment. It ceases on his discharge.[1]

Pensions, until June, 1916, were administered under the military authorities, by the Canadian Pensions and Claims Board, sitting in England. On the initiative of this Board a Pension Commission (legally known as the Board of Pension Commis-

[1] The work of the Canadian Patriotic Fund is described by Paul U. Kellogg in *The Survey* for March 17, 24, and 31, 1917, in three articles entitled "A Canadian City in War Time."

sioners), independent of the military authorities, was established in June, 1916, at the same time as a general increase in the pension rates. The commission consists of three men, appointed by the Governor in Council, for a term of ten years. Originally it was placed under the Minister of Finance, but on the creation of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, in March, 1918, it was transferred to that branch of the government.

By far the most important factor in the Canadian system of provision for disabled men has been the Military Hospitals Commission, now known as the Invalided Soldiers' Commission, in the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment. Until March, 1918, it was responsible for the disabled soldiers from the time of their arrival in Canada until they were discharged, with or without a pension; and after discharge when they were adjudged in need of reeducation for a new occupation. Since the recent reorganization, it retains responsibility for their welfare after discharge from the military forces, including medical care of those who need long-continued treatment, as well as for the vocational work and assistance in finding employment, and also for the educational features of the treatment in hospitals before discharge.

In the spring of 1915, when wounded men were beginning to come back from "overseas," the Department of Militia and Defense appointed a committee of three—the heads of the medical corps and of the engineering and clothing bureaus—to provide care and treatment for them. It was anticipated that this task would not be onerous, but that it would merely consist in making arrangements with the St. John Ambulance Association and the Canadian Red Cross. The military men, however, were "fully occupied" with their primary duty of mobilizing forces, and had little time to spend in considering the needs of returned convalescents, as one of the generals in charge of recruiting bluntly said later on to a parliamentary committee. They were engaged in producing fighting forces for the front, taking able-bodied men from their homes and sending them across the Atlantic; the converse of this process—bringing disabled men

back from the front and restoring them to their homes and places in civil society—is an entirely different kind of task, and it can not be accomplished by simply "reversing the engine."

Fortunately this was quickly recognized. A proposal was made in May, 1915, that a commission of well known public men be formed to handle the returning stream. This led to the establishment of the civilian agency later known as the Military Hospitals Commission. The body was created by an order in council dated June 30, 1915 (P. C. No. 1540), which provided "that a commission, hereafter to be termed the 'Hospital Commission,' be appointed to deal with the provision of hospital accommodations and convalescent homes in Canada, for officers and men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force who return invalided from the front." Members of the commission were to serve without compensation, but a salaried secretary and office force were provided. The commission was empowered "to call in the aid of any department of the federal administration; in particular to use the machinery of the Militia Department, to draw on that department for supplies, stores, and equipment, and to utilize the services of divisional and district staffs"; also "to incur, control, and authorize expenditures connected with the treatment and care of the sick and wounded, as well as with the organization and administration of hospitals and homes"; such expenditures "to be made a charge against the war appropriation vote, or, when that vote ceases to be operative, against some other special fund set aside by Parliament." It was further provided "that the Hospital Commission, through its President, have direct access to the Governor in Council." The same order appointed the members of the commission, all of whom have given continuous service since that time. The president of the commission, Sir James A. Lougheed, has now become the new Minister of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, and the Hon. F. B. McCurdy, M.P., parliamentary secretary of the new department, has been appointed chairman of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission in his place.

It was soon found that the scope of functions as outlined by

this order was not broad enough, since the commission was not authorized to provide for men who were disabled before going abroad, nor to do anything in the direction of securing employment for discharged men. These defects were corrected by a revised order in council (P. C. 2412) which also changed the name of the body to "Military Hospitals and Convalescent Homes Commission, . . . the short title of which shall be the 'Military Hospitals Commission.'" To the statement of purposes was added: "and for officers, non-commissioned officers and men invalided while on active service in Canada, Bermuda, or elsewhere." In addition to the authority conferred in the original order, the commission was empowered to accept and administer funds, bequests, and legacies, and to "deal with the question of employment for members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force on their return to Canada, and to cooperate with provincial governments and others for the purpose of providing employment as may be deemed necessary." All the original members were reappointed and four names were added.

The following spring two additional members were named, completing the constitution of the commission. The commission was representative with respect to geography and profession, and one member, at least, had had personal experience with an artificial arm. The secretary of the commission from the beginning has been E. H. Scammell, Esq., an Englishman who had lived for ten years in Canada and had had experience in mining and industrial operations there and in Australia. Since the establishment of provincial committees on employment the chairmen of those committees have been ex-officio members of the commission.

The work of the commission at the time of its greatest scope, just before the reorganization of 1918, included (1) the reception and classification of the men at the port of disembarkation, together with provision of clothing and transportation for those who were immediately discharged; (2) medical care and treatment for all who needed it, which was the great majority of all; (3) vocational training and general instruction, both in the con-

valescent hospitals, for its therapeutic and economic and cultural value, and also after discharge, in selected cases, to prepare men for new occupations; (4) assistance in finding work upon discharge, through the provincial committees formed for the purpose and the local subcommittees organized under them in many places. The work that was done under these four heads will be described later on.

In February, 1917, a special committee of the House of Commons was appointed, under the chairmanship of Sir Herbert Ames, to inquire into and report upon the whole matter of the provision for returning soldiers:

> (a) The reception, treatment, care, training, and reeducation of the wounded, disabled, and convalescent who have served in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces;
>
> (b) The provision of employment for those who have been honorably discharged from the Canadian Expeditionary Forces, and the training and reeducation of those so discharged who are unable to engage in their former occupation.

The Senate at the same time appointed a committee for the same purpose, and the two committees sat together for the hearing of testimony. Ninety-six witnesses were examined, representing "every important organization throughout the Dominion working for the care of the returned soldier," and including thirty-two representatives of the soldiers' organizations which have already been formed in every province. At an early stage in the sittings soldiers were invited to submit their grievances to the committee and eighty cases of alleged hardship were consequently investigated.[1]

By this parliamentary inquiry Canada has been the first country to subject her newly devised system to official scrutiny. The public criticism and dissatisfaction founded on individual stories of neglect or unfairness, which was perhaps the principal occasion of the inquiry, have not been justified by the investigations of the committee, but the vexed question of the relations be-

[1] *Preliminary and Second Report of the Special Committee of the House of Commons of Canada on the Care and Treatment of Returned Soldiers,* 1917. The second report is dated July 17, 1917.

tween the military authorities and the civilian body charged with the welfare of disabled soldiers received thorough discussion, and this was followed, although the committee made no recommendation, by a reorganization early in 1918.

Of the individual grievances brought before the committee—chiefly relating to delayed or inadequate payments of pensions or allowances—many were found to have been due to the fact that they had never been presented to the proper authorities; many others were greatly exaggerated. Numerous cases of hardship due to mistakes and unnecessary delays were found, but most of them had occurred early in the war, and there was evidence that the machinery was running more smoothly by this time.

The fundamental problem of the relation between the military authorities and the Military Hospitals Commission, which was a civilian department of government, was very complicated, and much less easy to dispose of than the allegations of individual suffering. While the commission was responsible for providing hospital accommodations and convalescent homes, transportation and clothing and other things, for disabled men from the time of their arrival in Canada, the men were still on the rolls of the army, receiving pay from and responsible to the Department of Militia and Defense; and while the institutions in which the soldiers received treatment were provided and maintained by the commission, the medical treatment which they received in these institutions was due from the Army Medical Corps. This dual system of control and responsibility inevitably brought about difficulties and confusion.

An attempt had been made to solve this difficulty by creating the Military Hospitals Commission Command, in June, 1916. (P. C. 864, June 24, 1916.) This was a unit of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, "staffed" by officers and men of the force who were appointed and promoted through the Department of Militia and Defense, to which were transferred, immediately upon arrival in Canada, all officers and men in need of the commission's services, *i. e.*, all returned for discharge as permanently

unfit or for further medical treatment. The command thus became responsible for the men in their military character, for their discipline, pay, etc., while as patients and students they were in charge of the commission. The medical work in the commission's institutions was done chiefly by physicians of the Army Medical Corps, under a medical superintendent responsible to the commission, and the Army Medical Corps also provided the personnel of the military medical boards for the examination of each soldier prior to discharge. It is not surprising that there was dissatisfaction with the situation on both sides.

While the investigating committee of the House of Commons was "agreed that this dual control is objectionable," it "frankly admitted" that it was unable to reach a unanimous conclusion as to where the unified control should rest, and could only present the contending views and plans of organization for the consideration of Parliament.

Briefly stated, the contention of the military authorities was that the medical care of the soldier should be in the hands of the Army Medical Corps from the time of his entrance into the forces until his discharge. Two parallel medical services—one for invalided soldiers in Canada before going abroad, another for invalided soldiers after their return to Canada—could not but mean inefficiency and confusion and extravagance. A considerable proportion of the men sent back home for convalescence or further treatment will eventually be restored to fitness for some sort of military service, and should be retained in the army. The recent creation in the Department of Militia and Defense of a "Directorate of Medical Services—Invalids" and the appointment to it of an officer of high standing in the medical profession would insure sympathetic care and adequate treatment if the responsibility were placed unequivocally with the military authorities, as well as that continuity of treatment and unbroken chain of responsibility which were regarded as imperative.

The alternative or civilian proposition was that every detail

of the preparation of recruits for active service should be in the hands of military men, but that when

> the citizen-soldier has become unfitted for further military service, or when the need no longer exists, it is desirable that he be returned to civil life with the least possible friction or delay. His goal now is a normal civil life. . . . It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that his restoration to civilian status is an undertaking likely to be best accomplished under civilian guidance. That is to say, as men of military experience are judged most capable of making soldiers out of civilians, so men of civil experience may rightly be regarded as best adapted for remaking civilians out of returned soldiers.

The advocates of this position proposed the creation of a new department of government, under a minister of the Crown, directly charged with the oversight of all measures for the returned soldier on and after his arrival in Canada.

It was the opinion of the committee that, even if neither of these views should be accepted, at any rate it was undoubtedly in the interest of the men that "full, complete and undivided control over the administration of the hospitals and homes where such soldiers are placed and the employment of the medical and nursing staff of these institutions" should be conferred "upon one and the same authority."

The outcome of the controversy was the reorganization of duties and functions in February, 1918 (P. C. 432 and 433), to which reference has already been made. The civilian view was recognized to the extent of creating a Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment in the Dominion Government, with a Minister in the Cabinet, to which is intrusted the welfare of all returning soldiers from the day of their discharge from the army. The Canadian Army Medical Corps, on the other hand, is charged with the treatment of wounded or invalided men up to the time of discharge. The old Military Hospitals Commission becomes the Invalided Soldiers' Commission, under the new department. It is relieved of responsibility for the physical care of the men before discharge, but still has the duty of providing for those who are so badly disabled that they need prolonged or permanent institutional care, and for those who

may have a recurrence of their disability after discharge. It retains also complete responsibility for all vocational and educational work, including what is carried on in the military hospitals among men not yet discharged. The Military Hospitals Commission Command ceases to exist. The former chairman of the Military Hospitals Commission has been appointed Minister of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, and the parliamentary secretary of the new department becomes chairman of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission.

The duties and powers of the Minister of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, as defined by the order in council creating the new department (P. C. 432, February 21, 1918), "extend to and include the following":

(a) The providing of hospitals, convalescent homes and sanatoria, whether permanent or temporary, for the care or treatment of invalid officers, noncommissioned officers, men or other members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and the administration, control, and direction of all such hospitals, convalescent homes, and sanatoria, whether heretofore established or to be established;

(b) The vocational, educational and other requisite training for civil occupations of all persons who have been honorably discharged from the Canadian Expeditionary Force;

(c) The provision of employment, and all such assistance therein as may be requisite or advisable for the persons aforesaid, and generally for their rehabilitation in civil life and activities;

(d) All matters relating to pensions for the persons aforesaid; *Provided,* that nothing herein shall interfere with or affect the powers or authority of the Board of Pension Commissioners.[1]

Another order of the same date (P. C. 433), defining the new relations between the Department of Militia and Defense and the Military Hospitals Commission, whose name had not yet been changed, contains the following provisions:

13. Provision shall be made so that the Military Hospitals Commission may continue to carry on educational and vocational training in the military institutions for the care and treatment of officers and soldiers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force before they are struck off the strength or discharged, and facilities shall be furnished by the officers in charge of such institutions

[1] The Board of Pension Commissioners has been incorporated in the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, coordinate with the Invalided Soldiers' Commission.

for the effective and continuous carrying on of such training by instructors appointed by the Military Hospitals Commission and under its control (such training to be subject to the direction of the medical officer in charge of the institution) and for the installation and maintenance in such institutions of such apparatus as may be necessary therefor.

14. The Military Hospitals Commission shall continue to provide such artificial limbs, orthopedic boots and appliances as may be required and, upon requisition by the medical officer charged with the treatment of any officer or soldier, shall furnish such artificial limbs, orthopedic boots, and appliances as may be necessary.

15. The Military Hospitals Commission shall provide such premises and accommodation as are necessary from time to time adequately to care for officers and soldiers struck off the strength or discharged for whom treatment is desirable or necessary by reason of their suffering from tuberculosis, epilepsy, paralysis, or other diseases likely to be of long duration or incurable, or by reason of their being mentally deficient or insane.

16. The Military Hospitals Commission shall also provide to the extent and in the manner from time to time determined by the Governor in Council for the medical care and treatment of men formerly officers and soldiers who, having been struck off the strength or discharged, as not requiring further treatment, nevertheless subsequently require such treatment by reason of disabilities due to or aggravated by service.

By this reorganization the line of demarcation between the civilian and the military branches of government is drawn clearly, leaving no chance for ambiguity—though it is possible that there may still be some source of friction in the association of the two authorities in the hospitals before discharge, as contemplated in paragraph 13 quoted above. The new department is a civilian department; its officers throughout are civilians; the men under its care have resumed their civilian status. Its task is to plan for the reestablishment in civil life of every member of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. For the present, however, it is concerned mainly with the disabled, and is operating through the two commissions which were already in existence and which have been assigned to it—the Board of Pension Commissioners and the Invalided Soldiers' Commission.[1] The latter, it is of interest to notice, has lost the very function for which it was originally created—the provision of hospitals and con-

[1] The Soldier Settlement Board (see below, page 232), although it seems logically to belong in this department, has not thus far been incorporated in it.

valescent homes for returning soldiers—though not until it had practically made the provision; while it keeps all the duties which were assigned to it or which it assumed from time to time as the result of recognition of other needs on the part of the soldiers. The military authorities, on the other hand, resume duties, by their own desire, which in 1915 they found incompatible with their primary task of raising and training an army.[1]

With this outline of the evolution of administrative machinery as a background, we will now turn to a review of the various elements in the provision for the disabled soldiers, beginning with the fundamental one of financial indemnity.

Pensions and Allowances[2]

In comparison with European countries the rates of pension were generous even at the beginning of the war. For total disability they ranged from $264 for a private to $1,200 for a lieutenant colonel, if unmarried, with an addition if married of from $132 to $360 for the wife, and $60 to $120 for each child, up to a certain maximum for any one family. The Pensions and Claims Board (see page 191) considered this scale inadequate, and in February, 1916, urged increases and a reorganization of the administration. In this the Military Hospitals Commission concurred, and a special committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider rates of pensions and the establishment of a Pension Board independent of the military authorities. On the recommendation of this committee, a general increase in rates was adopted and a civilian Board of Pension Commissioners established, by an order in council of June 3, 1916. (P. C. 1334).

With a view to eliminating politics, it was provided that there should be no appeal from the decision of the commission, but

[1] An account of the changes brought about by the creation of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment is contained in *Reconstruction* for April and May, 1918.

[2] Based chiefly on an official pamphlet entitled *Pension Regulations for Those Serving in the Naval Forces of Canada and the Canadian Expeditionary Force During the Present War.* P. C. 1334, June 3, 1916, as amended to October 22, 1917, and other orders in council.

that on the other hand any claimant should have a chance to present his case personally or by counsel before the full commission if he so desires. The order also explicitly directs, in the interest of claimants, that "great care shall be taken to insure all applications being considered and determined with the utmost despatch."

The pension scheme is based on the theory that the state has a right to the citizen's services and that he brings to the state a sound mind and a healthy body; if he is disabled in the service of the state he has a right to compensation for the degree of disability suffered, but not for the difference which it may make to his individual income because of the effect on his ability to follow his former occupation. In the words of the regulations: "All pensions . . . shall be determined by the disability of the applicant without reference to his occupation prior to enlistment." All cases are subject to revision at the end of a year, except those in which the disability is "obviously permanent." Pensions and allowances on account of discharge are to take effect, in every case, on the day after discharge. The usual stipulations are made that no allowances are to be paid if the disability is due to intemperance or improper conduct; that claims must be presented within a given period—two years; and that the commission may intrust the pension to "a reputable person" for administration if the pensioner is not meeting his obligations to his family or is spending his money "improvidently." In the case of insane pensioners in institutions, the cost of their maintenance is paid to the institution and the rest of the pension to their dependent relatives; if there are no relatives within the specified degrees, the balance is kept until the man's death or recovery. If the insane man is in the care of his family, the whole pension may be paid to the family, or part of it may be withheld and credited to his account, as if he were in an institution. All these regulations "shall be deemed to have come into force on the fourth day of August, 1914, and shall apply to or in respect of all casualties occurring in the said forces since the said fourth day of August."

Pensioners were divided into six classes, by the scheme of June, 1916, according to the degree of disability. Class I, 100 per cent, comprised such serious injuries as might be considered by the medical examiners to be equivalent to "total" disability, which in practice included loss of sight or of any two limbs, total insanity, incurable tuberculosis, and severe epilepsy. Rates for 100 per cent ranged from $480 for the rank and file to $2,700 for a brigadier general, with additional allowances for children (but not for wife), and a further annual allowance of not more than $250 for all below the rank of captain in case an attendant was required to look after the man's physical wants. Partial disability received pensions in proportion to the degree, but no allowances for children were granted in case of less than 60 per cent disability.

There was dissatisfaction with these rates from the beginning, and with the restriction of the allowance for children to Classes I, II, and III (60 to 100 per cent). It was also found very soon that the six classes did not offer a sufficient number of gradations. By an order of October 22, 1917, therefore (P. C. 2999), a more generous scale was announced, which took effect as of April 1, 1917. Twenty classes were substituted for the original six, running down from 100 per cent to 5-9 per cent, permanent disability of less than 5 per cent being compensated by a gratuity up to $100, not by a pension. The rates according to the present scale are exceedingly generous, as may be seen from the following figures for a few selected classes of the rank and file:

	Class 1 100%	Class 6 79–75%	Class 11 54–50%	Class 20 9–5%
Personal pension	$600.00	$450.00	$300.00	$30.00
Allowance for each child	96.00	81.00	60.00	6.00
Additional allowance for married man	96.00	72.00	48.00	4.80

The allowance for attendance was increased to $300. No maximum is indicated for a single family; $96 is added for each child, no matter how many there may be. Allowances for children stop at the age of sixteen for boys, seventeen for girls,

unless they are incapable of earning a living because of mental or physical infirmity, in which case the allowance may be continued to the age of twenty-one; no allowances are paid on account of a child after its marriage. For officers above the rank of lieutenant no allowance is made on account of a wife, but allowances for children are added to the personal pension, as in the case of enlisted men. A captain receives a personal pension of $1,000 and an allowance of $96 for each child, in the case of total disability; a brigadier general $2,700, with $120 for each child.

Profiting by the experience of European countries with "pension-psychosis," which had been one of the serious obstacles in the way of interesting men in reeducation, the original regulations of June 3, 1916, unequivocally stated that "No deduction shall be made from the amount awarded to any pensioner owing to his having undertaken work or perfected himself in some form of industry."

Financial inducements to take training for a new occupation after discharge from the forces, when that is recommended by the Military Hospitals Commission (see below, page 224), were provided by an order in council of June 29, 1916 (P. C. 1472), soon after the general regulations in regard to pensions. Up to the time of discharge such men have ordinarily been undergoing treatment and have been in receipt of their pay and allowances at the regular rate for active service, in addition to medical and educational care. It was felt that to continue financial assistance on the same scale to discharged men who were receiving special training for a new occupation, and in some cases maintenance in a school while taking the course, would be too lavish in the case of single men; but that it would be too arbitrary in the case of married men, since it would not take into consideration the number of dependents in the family. A scale was adopted, therefore, which gives the men themselves a small sum for personal expenses, makes provision on a sliding scale for dependents, and allows a per diem amount for the man's living expenses when he is not maintained in the educational institu-

tion. All these men are in receipt of pensions, since they are all disabled.

By the terms of the original order a single man without dependents was to receive sixty cents a day for living expenses if "living out," and free maintenance if "living in." A married man was to receive in addition eight dollars a month for incidental expenses and such sum as, together with his pension and allowances, would make up the amount indicated in the following table, according to the composition of his family:

Wife only: $35.00 per month.
Wife and one child: $38.00 to $42.50 according to the age of the child.
Wife and two children: $41.00 to $47.00, according to the age of the children.
And so on up to a maximum for wife and seven children or more: $55.00.

Allowances are also made for widowed mothers, and for children alone when the wife is not living. For children the amount ranges from three dollars for those under five years of age to $7.50 for the "first" one ten years of age or over.

These allowances are paid by the Military Hospitals Commission, under whose supervision the men receive their training. In every case the amount of the pension is deducted from the sums indicated above.

The following spring these arrangements were revised in the direction of greater liberality, by an order of April 12, 1917 (P. C. 976). The sixty cents per diem allowance for living expenses was raised to a dollar, to meet the increased cost of living; the eight dollars per month for personal expenses was granted to single men as well as to married men, to rectify "an omission . . . in the last order in council"; a minimum was established for single men—$16 per month if living in, $46 if living out, including pension; and more liberal arrangements were made for dependents, retaining, however, the maximum of $55.

A man with a wife and six children might, therefore, receive the following income from the government during the period

of his training for a new occupation, the instruction also being provided for him free of all charge for tuition or equipment:

Allowance for wife and children	$55.00
Maintenance allowance for man	30.00
Spending money	8.00
Total	$93.00

It was found that not infrequently men who had been discharged cured or pensioned broke down again under the strain of civil employment, as a result of the injuries they had suffered in service. To provide for such cases an order of February 24, 1917, permitted their reenlistment—"reattestation," it is called: "When a soldier who has served as a member of the Canadian Expeditionary Force and has been discharged subsequently requires treatment for a disability which is certified by a Board of Medical Officers to have been caused or aggravated by service, the Board of Medical Officers may receive his reattestation as a member of the Canadian Expeditionary Force." His pension was to be canceled from the day of reattestation, his pay and allowances resumed, and he became in every respect practically a new case, going through the usual procedure until he was again ready for discharge. The order contained incidentally a statement of these basic principles: "All invalided soldiers shall receive pay and allowances until discharged from the Canadian Expeditionary Force"; and "No invalided soldier shall be discharged from the Canadian Expeditionary Force until a Board of Medical Officers has certified that further treatment or hospital care will not improve his condition, or that it is advisable that he should pass under his own control."

Under the newly established system this provision for reattestation has been dropped, since discharged soldiers who suffer a recurrence of disability come under the care of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission.

Reception and Classification of Returning Soldiers

From this point on, the account of the provisions for disabled soldiers in Canada is practically a report of the work of the

Military Hospitals Commission, since all features of the system were developed and established before the recent administrative reorganization which has been described above. The changes introduced by this reorganization will be indicated, but it will be seen that as far as the individual soldier is concerned, they are changes in name, for the most part, rather than in the substance of what is done for him.[1]

About 41,000 men had been returned to Canada to the end of April, 1918. Not all of these, by any means, had been disabled in service. About 28,000 of them had come under the care of the Military Hospitals Commission, the figures by years being as follows:

1915	2,609
1916	6,629
1917	16,920
To end of 1917	26,158

On January 1, 1918, nearly half of all who had come under the jurisdiction of the commission (11,584) were still "on the strength" of the Military Hospitals Commission Command, which indicates what a slow business it is—this sort of "convalescent care"—though it is also due in part to the increasing number of wounded as the forces in the field have increased. Nearly twice as many were under care in the spring of 1918 as a year before.

It was the policy at first to treat all active cases in England, sending back to Canada only those who were true convalescents. By November, 1916, however, congestion in the overseas hospitals became so great that it was necessary to modify

[1] The principal sources of information for the facts in the rest of this chapter are the single report thus far issued by the Military Hospitals Commission, dated May 20, 1917; the bulletins of the commission since March, 1916, which have developed into the monthly magazine *Reconstruction;* an article by Paul U. Kellogg in *The Survey* for April 7, 1917, "The Battle-Ground for Wounded Men"; two unsigned articles in the English journal, *Recalled to Life,* for September, 1917: the testimony of Mr. T. B. Kidner, Vocational Secretary of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission, before the Joint Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate and House of Representatives in hearings held on April 30, May 1, and May 2, 1918; and correspondence with officials of the Commission.

this policy to a certain degree, and since then many ambulatory cases have been returned to complete their treatment at home, even when it was expected that they would ultimately be able to resume active service.

The men arrive at Quebec or St. John or Halifax, and at each of these ports the Military Hospitals Commission established a clearing depot. Sick and wounded are now generally brought home on English hospital ships, or "ambulance transports," comfortably equipped, and with no other passengers than the soldiers, doctors, nurses, and orderlies. Earlier in the war ordinary transports and passenger steamers had to be used, and the accommodations were but "indifferent," as the parliamentary committee expressed it, but a great advance has been made in this, as in other stages of care.

Documents accompany the men, showing their physical condition at the time of leaving the English hospital, the state of their pay account, and other data. At the clearing depot their immediate needs are provided for, and they are reexamined, by a Military Medical Board, for revision of the classification made in England. This classification is threefold:

Class I: Men who, though unfit for overseas service, are able to resume their previous occupation in civilian life, or who are suffering from a disability not due to nor aggravated by their service; candidates for immediate discharge without pension.

Class II: Men whose condition may be benefited by further medical treatment or sanatorium care.

Class III: Men who are suffering from a permanent disability which would not be benefited by further treatment; candidates for immediate discharge with pension.

Each man is "paraded singly" before a Medical Board of three officers, which examines him carefully in the light of his English records, and reclassifies him if necessary. Frequently this is necessary, for the effect of the voyage or the time that has elapsed since his previous examination may have changed his condition, or there may be a difference in judgment by the Canadian doctors. Out of a hundred cases taken at random from the records of the Quebec board, it was found that in 34

cases the Canadian examination agreed with the English report; in 39 cases the disability was rated higher than it had been when the man left England, and in 27 cases it was rated lower.

The first 13,826 men for whom records were kept were classified as follows:

Class	Number	Per Cent
I	2,891	20.9
II	9,124	66.0
III	828	6.0
"Not invalids"	864	6.3
"No record"	119	.8
Total	13,826	100.0

According to the degree of disability awarded by the Medical Board at the port of debarkation, these same men were classified as follows:

Per Cent Disability	Number of Men	Per Cent
0 — 25	7,418	53.7
26 — 50	2,923	21.1
51 — 75	927	6.7
76 — 100	1,975	14.3
No record	583	4.2
Total	13,826	100.0

In other words, if these proportions hold, over two-thirds of the men who come back are in need of some form of medical or surgical treatment, even though there may be no prospect of reducing their disability thereby. The majority of all, however, are not seriously injured; only one-fifth are in a condition on arrival which indicates a probable disability of over 50 per cent.

Men of Class I are discharged at the clearing depot. Civilian clothing is provided for them by the Invalided Soldiers' Commission and their transportation is arranged. They are not required to return to the place from which they enlisted, but having once indicated where they wish to go, "no alteration is permitted." Before leaving the depot a form is filled out by an interviewer of the commission for each man arriving on an ordinary ship, which is read over to him for verification and then signed by him. Copies of this are sent to the head office

of the commission, to the employment committee in his own province, and to the local secretary of the Canadian Patriotic Fund. Telegrams are sent to his town, to insure a welcome, an announcement in the papers, and other pleasant attentions. Welcome committees have been formed all over the Dominion, and practically every returning soldier is met by an automobile, if not by a more pretentious demonstration. If he has a long journey to the west, the welcome committees en route are notified, and arrangements are made for his comfort where he has to wait over or change cars.

Men of Class II and Class III are sent as promptly as possible to the military depot nearest the place which they designate as the one to which they wish to go. Until the reorganization they were drafted into the Military Hospitals Commission Command (see above, page 196) and remained under the jurisdiction of the Military Hospitals Commission—pending the award of their pension, in the case of Class III; and in the case of Class II, until their disability reached its definitive stage and they were ready for discharge for pension, or, more rarely, until they were cured and returned to active service. At present there is no Military Hospitals Commission Command; the men remain entirely in charge of the Department of Militia and Defense until the end of their medical treatment is reached (except for the insane and tuberculous and others who need long-continued institutional care), and do not come under the Invalided Soldiers' Commission until they are discharged.

Medical Treatment and Convalescent Care

The original object for which the Military Hospitals Commission was established was to provide convalescent homes and hospitals and medical treatment. At that time, in the spring of 1915, invalids were returning only in small numbers, and it was anticipated that small scattered homes for rest and recreation would be the type of institution needed. Many private houses were offered for the purpose and some of these have been utilized. It was soon found, however, that instead of

relaxation and entertainment, most of the men needed active therapeutic and orthopedic treatment. For this small institutions were neither economical nor efficient, and private homes were not well adapted for the necessary equipment. The idea of distributing accommodations through the country, however, so that the men could be near home and in familiar surroundings, has been carried out as far as possible, and a chain of institutions has been created reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

For transportation of the invalids, hospital cars have been provided, which are as much superior to ordinary railway accommodations as the hospital ships are to the old transports and passenger steamers. The traveling hospitals are made up in units of two cars, one a ward, the other containing compartments for the doctors and nurses and a section with six or eight cots. Whenever it is compatible with their physical condition, men are allowed a week or ten days for a visit home before going into the hospital or sanatorium.

To provide accommodations for treatment some new institutions have been erected "from the ground up"; many existing institutions have been utilized; and buildings designed for other purposes have been taken over and adapted. By cooperation with the provincial governments, with health associations, charitable organizations, existing institutons, and private individuals the commission had succeeded, by the time it was relieved of responsibility for this work, in arranging accommodations for fifteen thousand men, with five thousand more beds under construction or ready to be added on short notice. They were distributed as follows:

In buildings taken over and remodeled by the Military Hospitals Commission	10,205
In buildings erected "from the ground up"	2,795
At the disposal of the commission, in existing institutions	1,591
Under construction	3,925
Possible to add on short notice	1,850
Total	20,366

Two-thirds of the fifteen thousand then actually available were for convalescent care, 1,600 in discharge depots, about

1,400 for tuberculous patients, and 171 for insane. It was felt that "accommodation is abreast of requirements and the expansion is planned sufficiently far ahead to keep pace with any possible influx of new cases."

These facilities have now for the most part passed under the control of the Militia Department, since the responsibility for the care of disabled men until discharge has been placed with the Army Medical Corps. Sanatoria, however, and hospitals for the men so badly injured that they require prolonged or permanent institutional care, and for those who may have a recurrence of disability after discharge, will continue to be conducted by the Invalided Soldiers' Commission of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment. The necessary transfer of responsibility, and the necessary transformation of administration in the institutions that are not transferred, are being made with the least possible disturbance of the ten thousand or more disabled soldiers concerned.

The individual soldier, by the present system, remains in a military hospital until "a finality in treatment" is reached. The military authorities determine when that "finality" has been reached. It may represent either cure, as complete as the present status of medical science allows, or a decision that the case is incurable, or that it will require a "prolonged" course of treatment. Whatever the nature of the "finality," the soldier immediately upon discharge becomes an object of concern for the new department of government, and if he needs hospital or sanatorium care he receives it in a civilian institution, under civilian officers. The supplying of artificial limbs and orthopedic appliance is left to the civilian authorities, but it takes place before discharge.

Massage was practically unknown as a profession in Canada before the war. To supply this lack a training school was started by the Army Gymnastic Corps. The original idea was to find candidates among the returned soldiers, but so few were available from this source that the course was opened to women. Six months' training is given, and then the pupils are attached

to the Army Medical Corps, formerly to the Military Hospitals Commission, for service wherever they may be sent, and do not receive their diplomas until they have had one year of satisfactory experience in this way.

Recently a course of instruction for bedside vocational instructors has been established by the University of Toronto, with the cooperation of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, and it is planned to employ the graduates in the military hospitals. A training center for functional reeducation and for the scientific study of methods has been established at the University of Toronto, under the direction of Dr. Edward E. Bott, in Hart House, a beautiful building recently added to the university. Here not only is treatment given, but systematic research is carried on, in order to develop and standardize methods and apparatus, and training is given to "operators," both sergeants and civilians, and both men and women among the civilians, who will be distributed among the hospitals.

Special Classes of the Disabled

Certain classes of the disabled have, for one reason or another, given special concern. These are the blind, the tuberculous, the amputated, and those who suffer from mental or nervous affections.

It was anticipated in advance that the blind would be a serious problem, but fortunately the number of those who are totally blinded is very small. There have been less than fifty reported to April, 1918, not nearly so many as were produced in a few moments by the explosion in the harbor of Halifax. Most of the blind have not only been treated in England, but have also been trained there for a useful occupation at St. Dunstan's, in London. The relatively small number of cases and the excellent results secured at St. Dunstan's combined to make it seem wise to take advantage of the hospitality offered by Sir Arthur Pearson rather than to establish an institution for this purpose in Canada. There was some pressure from the public to do the latter, but the Parliamentary Commission of 1917

supported the position taken by the Military Hospitals Commission, recommending that any blinded men who returned to Canada before receiving reeducation should be trained in existing Canadian institutions for the civilian blind, at the expense of the federal government. In order to satisfy the public as to the quality of the care given at St. Dunstan's, the commission applied to the Director General of Medical Services for a report on its work. A medical officer was assigned to make an investigation, and his report, which is entirely favorable, has been made public.

Expectations in regard to tuberculosis had to be revised in the opposite direction. It was not anticipated that there would be a large number, and it was thought that they could be taken care of in existing sanatoria. A very moderate amount of investigation, however, soon revealed that the existing institutions were not even able to provide for the ordinary needs of the civilian population, while on the other hand the advance estimates of the number of cases which might be expected among the troops were soon found to be far below the reality. No allowance had been made for the rapid development of tuberculosis which took place among the recruits in the training camps in Canada, and the men returned on account of tuberculosis from the training camps in England, before seeing a day of fighting, were twice as many as had been expected on the basis of English experience. The reason for both miscalculations was probably the same—hasty or inefficient medical examinations or an unduly liberal standard for acceptance on the part of the examiners of recruits. The problem, therefore, has been in a sense "largely a civilian one"; that is, the cases have been for the most part due to infection contracted in civil life or to weakness of physique which favored infection and rapid development of the disease. Very few of them have developed in the trenches.

A liberal position has been taken with respect to responsibility for these men who have broken down under training. It has been decided that "if a man suffering from, or with a tendency toward, tuberculosis has been passed by a medical officer as fit

and has not himself concealed the fact that he is suffering from this disease, he is entitled to treatment until his case has reached finality." What proportion already had the disease when they enlisted can not even be guessed at, but it is certain that many recognizable cases must have been passed in the early rush, either because of lack of skill on the part of local examining physicians or because of pressure from recruiting officers. At one time 60 per cent of all the cases under care had never left the country. Later this percentage had fallen to 50, but not more than 15 per cent had been as far as France. That the worst of the results of careless admissions is past, and that more normal conditions may be expected in the future, is seen from the latest statistics available, which show that the total number of cases received from the beginning of the war up to the end of the year 1917 was 2,871, of which 888—less than one-third—came from the training camps.

To meet the emergency situation in which it found itself, the commission built additions to a number of existing sanatoria. Half the cost of building has been borne by the government, half by the institution. The additions are to be at the disposal of the government as long as they are needed for soldiers, and are then to become the property of the owners of the institution. The commission has sometimes given assistance in providing the additional members required on the staff. This policy of increasing accommodations in existing institutions is cheaper than it would have been to establish entirely new sanatoria in different parts of the Dominion. It is probably a little more expensive than it would have been to build one or two large central institutions, but that would have had disadvantages. It would have taken longer to get under way; an entirely new staff would have had to be organized, which would have involved crippling existing institutions, no doubt, by the withdrawal of experienced physicians from them; and only comparatively few of the men could have been near home.

The policy which has been adopted seems the wisest also from the point of view of the public interest after the war, for it will

mean a permanent increase in the facilities for the treatment of tuberculosis among the general population, distributed over the country instead of concentrated in a single locality, and probably, moreover, added to the institutions which were already doing the best work. The experience of the country with tuberculous soldiers, furthermore, may be expected to advance the state of public education in regard to this disease, and to develop a stronger public sentiment in favor of adequate provision for its control. An indication that this is already taking place is found in the report of the parliamentary committee of 1917 on the care and treatment of returned soldiers. One of its recommendations was that "in view of the alarming evidence as to the prevalence of tuberculosis among enlisted men, and the natural inference that similar, if not worse, conditions obtain among the civilian population. . . . the federal government, and the several provincial governments, be urged to take up without delay more effective measures to check the spread of this disease." In this connection it may be noticed that the committee called the attention of Parliament also to the serious danger from venereal disease which threatened the civilian population, and recommended that "any returning soldier likely to transmit disease of this character be quarantined and confined at the port of arrival in Canada until cured."

Six months is considered the minimum period of treatment likely to be needed for a case of tuberculosis. The men receive full pay and allowances until they are cured or discharged for pension. By the terms of the recent division of responsibility between the Department of Militia and the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, the sanatoria for consumptives remain with the latter, and it is understood that tuberculous soldiers evidently in need of prolonged care, whatever the prognosis, will be discharged from the army as soon as that fact is established, and will come under the care of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission.

Mental cases were very few in number in the first months of the war. They were sent directly from the discharge depot

to the hospital for insane in their home province. Later the commission took over an institution at Coburg, Ontario. As it was found more satisfactory to treat the shell shock cases in a separate institution from the insane, it was decided to reserve the Coburg institution for shell shock and open a new one for mental cases at Newmarket, Ontario. Out of the first fourteen thousand returned men there were only 180 cases of insanity. The Ontario Military Hospital had 160 patients in the first six months of its existence, and there were 50 in the hospital on February 1, 1917, including only six cases of shell shock. Among these 50 there were 6 who were classed as morons or other high-grade defectives, which again suggests inadequate examination of recruits.

The insane are kept under observation for a while, and then, if it appears that prolonged treatment will be necessary or that they are probably incurable, they are sent to hospitals in their own province. At one time it was thought that it might be advisable to establish special homes for the returned soldiers whose minds had been affected in service, but the opinion prevailed that, while separate institutions are needed for cases of shell shock, the best interest of the insane can be served by not regarding them "as a class apart," but by caring for them at the expense of the federal government in provincial institutions "under the same conditions as fellow citizens similarly afflicted."

By regulations which were made in an order in council of March 31, 1917 (P. C. 864), no insane soldier was to be discharged until pronounced "permanently and incurably insane" or "recovered" by a competent medical authority. Charges for hospital care before discharge were paid by the Military Hospitals Commission; after discharge, for those permanently insane, by the Board of Pension Commissioners. The man's pay and allowances, while he is in the hospital before discharge, are credited to his account, if he has no dependents, and paid to him on discharge if he recovers; if he proves to be incurable, his estate is disposed of, on his discharge, by the Estates Branch of the Department of Militia and Defense. If he has depend-

ents, they continue to receive assigned pay and separation allowances until he is discharged, while the rest of his pay and allowances are credited to his account, as in the case of the man with no dependents; on discharge, the accumulated amount is paid to him if he is recovered, or to his heirs if he is pronounced permanently and incurably insane.

The insane and the cases of shell shock, like the tuberculous cases, are discharged from the army when it becomes apparent that they will need a prolonged treatment, and then come under the jurisdiction of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission.

Amputations have been less numerous thus far than cases of tuberculosis. The total number to March 1, 1918, was 1,230, of whom 804 were still under care. More than twice as many legs are lost as arms (arms, 374; legs, 856), as is also the experience of other countries.

The first stages of the treatment of amputations, of course, take place in France and England, but the greater part, if not all, of the functional reeducation must be given in the convalescent hospitals in Canada, and artificial limbs are supplied ordinarily in Canada. This policy in regard to artificial limbs was adopted in accordance with the recommendation of one of the members of the Military Hospitals Commission, Mr. W. M. Dobell, after visiting France and England in the winter of 1915-16. Responsibility for providing artificial appliances was early transferred from the Department of Militia and Defense to the Military Hospitals Commission, and in July, 1916, the commission opened its own factory in Toronto. The recent reorganization leaves with the Invalided Soldiers' Commission the responsibility for supplying artificial limbs and other appliances, while the military authorities take over the convalescent hospitals and the work of functional reeducation.

In the matter of artificial limbs, Canada was even less prepared than the other belligerent countries. There were several small factories in different parts of the Dominion, but none that was equipped for as large a business as was foreseen, and for other reasons also the Military Hospitals Commission thought

it inadvisable to try to meet the demand by contracts with these firms. It decided, therefore, to go into the business itself, and opened a factory at Toronto in connection with an orthopedic center. The advantages of this arrangement are obvious. The commission, being an official body, could use the best points in all the inventions on the market, forcing patentees to lease their rights, if necessary. It was more economical than buying from commercial makers, since expenses of advertising and sale were eliminated, as well as profits. Furthermore, by training a new group of men in the trade, provision would be made for the needs of the future, for these artificial legs and arms will have to be kept in order and replaced for the next forty years.

There have been difficulties in the situation, as well as advantages. The chief one has been to find men who knew the trade. The United States was "combed" for them, and some were found and imported; but it was discovered that most of the experts, except those of enemy nationality, had already gone to England and France. It was therefore necessary to train most of the workmen. As far as possible, men who themselves wear artificial appliances have been used. Improved models have been devised, utilizing the best features of French, English, and Belgian war designs, so that, as it has been expressed, "the Canadian soldier marches off on an Entente leg." Special success has been attained in devising a cheap leg which can be fitted at a very early stage, and is so inexpensive that it can be changed as often as the changing condition of the stump makes this desirable.

In spite of its successes in this direction, the commission found it necessary to say in May, 1917: "It is very difficult to make satisfactory artificial limbs, especially arms. Men are inclined to expect too much from these appliances. . . . At best, an appliance of this nature is only a substitute, but everything should be done to render that substitute as efficient as possible." The Toronto factory was not yet meeting the demand a year after it was opened, and it was the intention of the commission to open others in other localities. The parliamentary committee

of 1917 reported that the facilities for supplying artificial limbs were "inadequate," and urged that institutions similar to the one in Toronto be established in other centers, and that "a sufficient number of disabled returned soldiers be induced to learn and follow the occupation of manufacturing artificial limbs."

Vocational Training

Turning from the provision for the physical welfare of disabled men to the educational work that is done to fit them for a life of industry and self-support, we come to a department which has not been disturbed by the recent reorganization. Vocational training and assistance in finding employment have been from the beginning functions of the civilian body, and the military authorities have had no responsibility for them, not even for the educational work which is carried on in the military hospitals. The system has been developed by the Military Hospitals Commission, and remains in the hands of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission which has superseded it.

Canada, as has been mentioned above, has put the vocational training of disabled soldiers under a central authority, on a national basis; and she has been fortunate in securing for this work the services of some of the men who are most experienced in technical education.

The subject was taken up very early by the Military Hospitals Commission, brought to their notice by the evident need of the men in the convalescent hospitals for occupation. "No precedents were available," for the reports which had been obtained about the work started in France "did not appear to fit the situation in Canada." A report was prepared by Frederic H. Sexton, then Director of Technical Education of Nova Scotia, in which he reviewed the possibilities and the need of training disabled soldiers for occupations "by the well known and tried methods of vocational guidance and the training of adolescents," and suggested a system organized by provinces. The therapeutic and the economic arguments walked side by side from the beginning.

In October, 1915, just after the revision of the commission's functions conferring on it the power to deal with the question of employment of returned soldiers, an interprovincial conference was held on the invitation of the Prime Minister, to consider the twofold problem of reeducation and employment. A report was submitted by Mr. Scammell, secretary of the commission, embodying several of Professor Sexton's suggestions, and recommending that the work of training returned soldiers and finding employment for them should be established on a comprehensive basis. The commission's vocational secretary, Professor T. B. Kidner, at that time Director of Technical Education in Calgary, after an experience of fifteen years in organizing and directing technical education in various parts of Canada, was appointed in January, 1916, and from that time on this branch of the commission's work has been growing in importance.

Education in Canada is in the hands of the provincial governments, and there was some opposition to placing this special educational undertaking on a national basis. The difficulty was overcome by appointing in each province an advisory board of local representatives, charged with the preparation and carrying out of schemes of instruction, and linked to the Military Hospitals Commission by the commission's provincial vocational director, who is ex officio member of the advisory committee.

At first the work was largely experimental. "We sat down then—or got up," said Mr. Kidner at the hearing in Washington last May, "and tackled the problem by interviewing every man who came back to Canada and finding out what his needs were, and it speedily developed that it was an individual problem in every case and that we could not establish any set of regulations, for instance, as to the kind of trade for which a man suffering from a certain disability was to be trained; that we should have to take every individual case and study it in the light of the man's whole nature and of the opportunities he had had and of the remaining possibilities in him. And that is the beginning and end of our theories on the work. The

rest of it, the things I am telling you, have been evolved usually by a process of what a workman would call 'cutting and trying.'" Another result of this preliminary "survey" of men in the hospitals was the cheering fact that the number of men who would not be able to return to their previous occupation was "comparatively small"—roughly, ten per cent of all who come back disabled,[1] subsequent experience has shown.

The first classes established in the hospitals were in subjects of general interest, not strictly vocational, but such as would give the men an opportunity to brush up their general education or learn something new and keep them pleasantly occupied—English for the foreign-born, for example, and arts and crafts. These classes in general subjects have nearly everywhere developed into courses of vocational grade. In nearly all the hospitals, now, there are also classes conducted in cooperation with the Civil Service Commissioners, to prepare for civil service examinations for "lower grade inside service," and also for second grade. A great many men have already passed the lower grade examinations, and a number of these are going on, preparing for the next step in advance. Carpentry, mechanical drawing, automobile repairing, poultry keeping and gardening, are also established in nearly all the hospitals.

While the educational work in the hospitals is provided by the Invalided Soldiers' Commission, nevertheless its primary object is therapeutic; and while the vocational officer is in charge of the man for his vocational training from the moment he arrives at the hospital in Canada, it is the hospital doctors who are responsible for indicating the kind of work which will be best for his physical condition. The relation between the two authorities was explained by Mr. Kidner by likening it to that which exists between physician and druggist; the medical officer of the military hospital prescribes the kind of work the man should have, and the commission provides the personnel and equipment for carrying out the prescription. The office of the

[1] But not by any means ten per cent of all who are wounded, for most of them are treated entirely in England and return to the front.

commission seems, however, to be more active than that statement would imply, for the vocational adviser, representing the commission, and having in mind the vocational future of the man, consults with the medical officer; they talk over the situation, and if—as no doubt frequently happens—there is a choice of occupations which will produce the desired therapeutic effect, the vocational adviser will, with the sanction of the doctor, direct the man into that one which is likely to be of most use to him when he goes back to civil life. In many cases the work in the hospital can be made to increase a man's skill in his regular trade, or to increase his general market value by giving him a broader point of view or knowledge of an alternative occupation.

Although the work in the hospitals is part of the daily routine of the patients, prescribed as an element in treatment, by the military medical officers in charge, to limber up stiffened muscles and joints and to stimulate confidence and initiative in depressed and sluggish minds, it is nevertheless not authority and compulsion that is relied upon to attract and retain the cooperation of the men, but their own interest. The man is still a soldier, under military discipline, but in the classroom there is the ordinary relation of teacher and pupil, without any military flavor, and this has been found entirely satisfactory. An important element in rousing and maintaining a favorable attitude on the part of the soldier-pupils is the vocational adviser. He meets them as soon as they arrive at the hospital, develops in them confidence that they can overcome their disabilities and ambition to make the most of every opportunity, so that the teachers, when they get them in class, have little difficulty in holding their interest if they themselves know their business.

On April 30, 1918, there were 1,668 undischarged men attending occupational therapy classes in the hospitals. On a total of about 10,000 under treatment, this would represent a percentage of about 16⅔.

Theoretically, occupational therapy and "reeducation" are

two distinct parts of the commission's vocational work. The former is open to all who are receiving medical treatment; the latter only to those who are so badly disabled as to be unable to resume their former occupation, and to them only upon discharge from the army. "A man is not taught a new trade or given training leading to some new occupation merely as the reward of valor, because he has been overseas," explained Mr. Kidner to our congressional committees. "If so, we should have an overwhelmingly large problem, for our Canadian boys have the same tendency that your boys have, sir, to shift their jobs quite freely and frequently. But vocational reeducation at public expense is only provided for those for whom it can be shown that they can not return to their former occupations with efficiency." In practice, however, many cases are found who, while not absolutely debarred from resuming their former occupation, would greatly profit by training continued beyond the time when their physical condition allows discharge. They may have begun a course at the hospital for which they have shown special aptitude. They are at liberty, it is true, to continue to attend the classes at the hospital after discharge, but few can be expected to do so unless some financial inducement is offered similar to that provided in the case of men recommended for reeducation. The secretary of the commission, the vocational secretary, and many other officials connected with it, are in favor of extending the privileges of reeducation at the expense of the government to such "border-line" cases.

Plans for the "reeducation" of discharged men unable to follow their former occupation were begun about six months after the initiation of occupational therapy. To forestall the difficulty which had been met in England and France, where the belief that pensions would be reduced if earning power increased was almost ineradicable, it was definitely stated in an order in council of June 3, 1916, that "No deduction shall be made from the amount awarded to any pensioner owing to his having perfected himself in some form of industry." The liberal financial arrangements which were adopted about the same time for the

men recommended for reeducation, in order to make the training "so attractive . . . that he would be glad to take" it, have been described on pages 204-205.

At the end of a year, in May, 1917, courses had been established "in a variety of ways and places." By the end of the second year, in May, 1918, 2,307 men had been found eligible for reeducation. Of these, 351 had been graduated from training courses and 1,956 (on April 30) were enrolled in reeducation classes. Adding to these the 1,668 undischarged men who on that date were enrolled in the classes for occupational therapy in the hospitals, we have a total of 3,975 students in the great vocational "school" of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission.

How this training is given, how the new occupation is selected when a man can not resume his former one, the attitude of the men who are advised to take a course of "reeducation," and other questions of method and principles, will be discussed below, after completing this outline of the work of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission by a paragraph in regard to what is done to help the men find employment.

Employment

Responsibility for employment, as for education, has always been considered a matter for the provinces, rather than for the Dominion Government. At the interprovincial conference held in October, 1915, on the invitation of the Prime Minister, to consider the needs of the returning soldiers with respect to reeducation and employment, it was decided that the government of each province should appoint a Central Provincial Committee, to be constituted as a subcommittee of the Military Hospitals Commission, which should be charged with finding employment for returned soldiers who are in condition to work; that the expenses of these committees should be met by the provincial or local authorities or by voluntary contributions; and that the commission should assist them in any way in its power. A bill is now (May, 1918) before the Parliament proposing financial

assistance by the federal government in the establishment of employment agencies in the various provinces.

The provincial committees, appointed under a variety of appellations, are now uniformly known as the "Returned Soldier Commission," with the name of the province prefixed. Local committees have been formed under them in many places. They assist able-bodied returned soldiers, as well as disabled, and thus far their task has been light, because of the great demand for labor. The parliamentary committee of 1917 reported that "they have found employment for all returned soldiers desiring such, and within a reasonable time from their application therefor."

Placement of the men who are reeducated, however, as it has naturally worked out, is arranged in practically every case by the district vocational officer. It is his duty, obviously, to be reasonably sure when he recommends a course of training for a man that there will be opportunities for his employment in that occupation when he has completed his training, and frequently the man stays as an employe in the establishment where he receives his training. The employment commission of the province may be called on for help when that is necessary, but in practice it is becoming a matter of course for the vocational officer to place the reeducated men, as schools of all kinds everywhere naturally place their graduates—the best of them, at any rate—almost automatically.

It has been expressly provided by an order in council (P. C. 2758) that in all appointments to the civil service, preference shall be given to returned members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, especially to those who are unable to follow their previous occupation on account of disability incurred in active service, with due regard, however, to the provisions of the Civil Service Act and to the qualifications of the applicant.

Methods and Principles

The machinery for vocational training and placement is closely interrelated. At the head office of the commission in

Ottawa there is the vocational secretary and the central bureau for cooperation with the provincial committees on employment. In the provinces the machinery consists of

A vocational officer, responsible to the vocational secretary of the commission, and connected with each of the other provincial bodies;

A provincial advisory committee (see page 221) for securing the cooperation of educational institutions and coordinating local efforts for the instruction of disabled soldiers;

A provincial Disabled Soldiers Training Board, to determine which men are subjects for reeducation;

A provincial Returned Soldier Commission, to find employment for all returned soldiers who wish help in that direction.

The vocational officer is the *liaison* official. He sits on the advisory committee and on the Disabled Soldiers Training Board, whose recommendations he transmits to the Invalided Soldiers' Commission, and he presents to the Returned Soldier Commission the recommendations of the commission with regard to the men who want help in securing work; he makes personal "surveys" of such men, and is responsible for arranging for the training of men passed by the training board and for maintaining "a regular inspection" of all such men while they are under instruction.

The advisory committee includes "some person acquainted with the processes of education, an agricultural educationalist, an employer, and a labor representative," besides the vocational officer of the commission. Its function is to prepare schemes of instruction in or in connection with the hospitals, for the approval of the commission; to organize and carry out the schemes which are approved; to maintain a regular inspection of all such courses; to make a survey of the facilities available for reeducation in local educational institutions, private workshops, farms, and elsewhere; to assist the employment committee by supplying definite information as to the training applicants have received; and "generally, to advise and assist in training returned soldiers in every possible way."

The Disabled Soldiers Training Board consists of the vocational officer, a medical man, and a member of the provincial

employment committee. The third member is not always the same man, but is chosen with reference to the particular circumstances of each case. This is the board which considers all cases which appear to be subjects for special training because they are unfitted by their injury to resume their former occupation. It is also charged with recommending what occupation the man shall take up, and with following his progress while he is in training, in order that a change may be made if desirable. No doubt it is the vocational officer who bears the heaviest responsibility in this work of selecting men for reeducation and deciding upon the training to be given them, though by the composition of the board it is recognized that medical authority and knowledge of industrial opportunities in the neighborhood are also indispensable elements. "The question as to what new occupation a disabled man might be trained for," writes the secretary of the commission, "is first of all a medical one, though it is largely one for a vocational counselor. . . . But further, and this is an important consideration, it is an economic question, touching the law of supply and demand. . . . Last, but by no means least, the man's own wishes and desires for the future must be consulted. The question, therefore, is an individual one, and every case is investigated separately." The advice of the medical officer is especially relied upon to indicate what kind of work the man should not undertake, owing to physical or mental limitations; in other words, he exercises a veto power over any proposal.

This little committee holds in its hands the future of the men whose cases come before it for consideration. Two members of it usually know the man personally; the third knows local conditions of employment. As a basis for their deliberations a very detailed questionnaire, "Form 106," has been filled out by the vocational officer. This blank and the instructions which accompany it give evidence of a thorough consideration of the many factors which are of importance in advising a disabled man about the future. In addition to the obvious matters of physical condition, education, and industrial experience, provision is made

for recording personal characteristics which would have a bearing on future success. Adjectives are suggested for describing appearance, manner, and address. Eight grades of "intelligence" are outlined. An estimate of "occupational stability" is asked for, and not only the degree—ranging from "very changeable" to "sedentary," which is explained as meaning unwilling to change even to better one's position—but also the "type" of change to which the applicant is addicted—whether of occupation or of employer; the "extent"—that is, the area covered in moving about; and the reasons for previous changes. Disposition and emotional characteristics are analyzed with equal care. On the great question toward which all this analysis is directed, the instructions accompanying the blank include many wise comments. For example:

> In a small proportion of cases the direction of a disabled man toward a new occupation is not difficult, as his previous training, physical condition, etc., often clearly indicate the appropriate choice. Experience has shown, however, that it is often most difficult to select a new vocation, and in such cases every possible particular of the man's past experiences and present condition are needed if a proper selection is to be made for the man's future.
>
> In questioning a man as to his choice of a new occupation, the candidate should be encouraged to express his wishes freely, but the vocational officer will not only enter the reasons given by the candidate for his choice but will also endeavor to ascertain the man's real reasons. Quite often there are fashions in choice, due to the particular demand or example of the hour. Also, it will be found that a man's choice is often conditioned by the fact of his inactivity and by his present physical condition, which may improve. . . .
>
> In assigning a grade to a candidate, he [the vocational officer] should make a judgment on what the candidate *is capable of doing,* not on what he has done, for an estimate of intelligence must indicate the possibilities of *development.* The safest basis for estimating potential capacity is past performance, yet the fact of a certain amount of past accomplishment does not preclude further accomplishment. Therefore, the vocational officer should reason from what the man has done to what he is capable of doing, and should be careful not to confuse the two.

The essence of the commission's theory about the selection of an occupation for a disabled man is that it is in every case an individual problem. "You have to sit down and think hard, and then think hard some more," said one of the vocational

officers, "to figure out what a man who comes back badly crippled physically and industrially can be fitted for in the scheme of things which will be Canada after the war. On what you think out may hang years of that man's fortune."

On the basis of their personal knowledge of the applicant and the information collected on "Form 106" the Disabled Soldiers Training Board talks the whole situation over with the man himself, in a very informal and "human" way, and endeavors to get at a decision which will be practicable and agreeable for the present and profitable for the future. The recommendation of the board is then forwarded to Ottawa, together with the records and information upon which it is based, for final action by the vocational secretary and the medical superintendent of the commission.

As soon as possible after the confirmation of the choice of occupation from headquarters, the vocational officer arranges for the man to begin his course of training. Weekly reports on his progress are made to the vocational officer throughout the course, and his pay and allowances (see page 204) are made up at the end of the month from the record of his attendance and punctuality, just as his pay would be made up from the foreman's time-sheet if he were working for wages.

No one is compelled to take a course for reeducation. If a man thinks he can get along without it and prefers to go to work immediately at anything he can find to do, he is free to do so. In that case, however, he is at liberty to come back to the commission whenever he changes his mind, and take the training he at first refused. As a matter of fact, the preparatory educational work with the man has been so well done by the vocational advisers in the hospitals and all the other officials with whom he comes in contact that he is generally glad to accept the opportunity. Out of 2,400 who were adjudged eligible for reeducation, only 107 have declined to take the course which was offered, and some of these, it is expected, will come back in the course of time. Nor is any compulsion exercised to keep a man in attendance after starting on a course. The financial

inducements and his own interest in his progress are relied upon, and there is testimony that they are sufficient. "I never have seen in any school house in America, elementary school or college," said Mr. C. A. Prosser, Director of the United States Federal Board for Vocational Education, "such application and such uniformly good, earnest conduct as there was on the part of the soldiers undergoing reeducation in the schools of the Canadian Commission."

> We have not found it necessary to exercise or to suggest compulsion [said Mr. Kidner]. The men are eager to take vocational training, provided you get at them early enough and arouse in them by every possible means the desire to help themselves, and give them an opportunity, disabled though they are, to work at various things during convalescence. In fact, we have today men coming to us and asking for vocational training, and quite often after a man is discharged and has been found not to be eligible for vocational training at public expense, the Veterans' Association will bring up his case and endeavor to obtain vocational training for him. . . . We could have twice as many men taking vocational training in Canada as we have at present if we would give it, but we have felt it necessary to stick to our original regulation, which was that vocational reeducation at public expense was only to be given to a man who was so disabled that he could not go back to his former occupation. Personally, some of us would like to give every man who has been overseas a chance at a course of vocational reeducation. Unfortunately, I do not think that the country—that Canada or any other country—could consider that on the scale on which we are doing it for disabled men.

The list of occupations for which men have been reeducated would be long. As a result of dealing individually with the problems of 2,400 men, the most positive generalization which has been formulated is that "there is no such thing, as far as we have been able to discover . . . as a definite list of occupations into which men suffering from a certain disability can be sent. We are not able to tell you that today. In fact, there does not appear from our analysis of our cases to be such a relation."

The first thought is to put the man back in some branch of his former industry, in order to utilize his general knowledge and associations as far as possible. If nothing suitable can be found there, the next resort is some allied trade, for it is not

easy for a man, especially if he is over thirty, "unless he is of exceptional caliber," to take up something absolutely new and make a success of it. This principle is applied to agriculture as well as to manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, and with special force because of the need which Canada has for cultivators of its vast unsettled tracts. "There is no wild desire," however, on the part of the Canadians to get back to the land. "They have usually had enough of the land," Mr. Kidner explained. "As one man put it to me, 'I have lived in it; it has been in my hair and my food for eighteen months; and I don't want any more land as long as I live.' The theory that because the men have lived the free and open life of the trenches and the camp, they will not want to return to sedentary occupations has not worked out in our experience. . . . I have no doubt that when the fit men come back, we shall have . . . a large number of men who will desire to take up land; but as far as the disabled man is concerned, up to the present . . . he rather wants an indoor job, if possible a government job." General farming, moreover, as carried on in Canada, is one of the hardest of occupations. It is a very different affair from agriculture in European countries, and does not suggest a haven of peace and comfort to the tired, nerve-shaken man as does the little garden-plot in France.

In spite of this reluctance on the part of the men, the commission does its utmost to return those who come from the country to some branch of agricultural work. It has had considerable success in training them for some specialty in which their disability will not be a handicap, such as truck farming, poultry raising, and—what is perhaps the most profitable and the most popular—the operation of farm tractors. Properly qualified disabled soldiers share with other returned soldiers in the benefits of the "Soldier Settlement Act" which was passed on August 29, 1917, providing for "free entry" in Dominion lands up to 160 acres and loans up to $2,500 for initial expenses under certain conditions. The Soldier Settlement Board which is created to carry out the provisions of this act is em-

powered to place returned soldiers with farmers for instruction, to establish agricultural training stations, to appoint farm instructors and inspectors to assist settlers, and even to provide instruction in domestic science and household economy for the wives and "female dependents" of settlers. As no applicant may receive a loan unless he can establish his ability "to make from the land a fair living for himself and his family," it is expected that this act will give a great stimulus to agricultural training. The Soldier Settlement Board will work in close cooperation with the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment.

Obviously, if 2,400 men are to be reeducated for the work which each one is best fitted to undertake, a very large number of courses must be provided, and the ingenuity of the commission and the resources of the country must be taxed to the utmost to meet the demand created by this ideal of individual treatment.

In the first place, the classes installed in the hospitals for therapeutic purposes have been utilized. Equipment has been increased, courses extended, and as a matter of fact many men are reeducated for a new occupation incidentally, before discharge, in connection with their hospital treatment, without technically becoming applicants for reeducation. These classes in the hospital are also utilized for reeducation in the technical sense, of men who, on discharge from the army, are adjudged unable to resume their former occupation.

In the next place, existing institutions for industrial and technical training have been used in various ways, and new schools have been established by the commission. Canada had comparatively few institutions of this sort before the war, but as far as they went they have been found very helpful. Two have been taken over entirely by the commission; in others one floor of certain shops has been placed at the disposal of the commission; in others small groups of men have been placed for training under the regular staff of the institution—not, however, in the regular classes of the school, but in separate classes conducted especially for them; in a few private business col-

leges and automobile schools selected individuals have been placed, but it was not expected that this would be done to any great extent, since these subjects are taught in most of the hospitals.

The reason for organizing the soldiers in separate classes in the technical schools is that it was found that the ordinary type of instruction for boys and young men was not well suited to the returned soldiers. Not only did the men dislike being placed in classes with the ordinary students, but the routine and hours of a "scholastic" schedule were found to be ill adapted to the needs of a man whose ambition was to fit himself as quickly as possible for earning a good salary. He might, as was found to be the case with one man, have two hours of lectures in the morning and a forty-minute period of laboratory practice in the afternoon, and spend the rest of the time loafing around and smoking cigarettes. An eight-hour day for all who are strong enough for it, and conditions in every way as nearly as possible like the ordinary industrial conditions for which the man is preparing, are the ideal of the commission as a result of its experience. This is a very interesting discovery, and it may be one of the things Mr. Kidner had in mind when he said that when he gets back to ordinary vocational education he expects to make a great many changes in his methods as a result of his experience with disabled soldiers.

There is still another way in which instruction has been provided, and it is the one for which the commission appears to entertain the greatest enthusiasm. Many offers were received at the outset of the work from manufacturers who were willing to take men into their establishments on an apprentice basis, but on account of warnings from abroad pointing out the danger of exploitation, the difficulty of insuring that valuable instruction would be given, and the unsatisfactory relations of the soldiers so placed with the regular workmen, the commission was for some time reluctant to accept these opportunities. When the number of men under training had reached five hundred, a study of them was made, and it was found that while thirty-nine occu-

pations were represented in the courses that had been provided, there was nevertheless an undesirable degree of concentration on a few: four hundred out of the five hundred were being trained for only twelve occupations. Sixteen per cent were taking commercial courses. This was not considered a cause for alarm, because there was a great demand for male clerks and bookkeepers. A large number also were taking motor mechanics, simply because that was a fashion for the moment among the men, and it was thought that there was danger in "overdoing" that occupation. In trying to find the reason for the limited number of occupations, it seemed that the principal explanation lay in the limitations of instruction in technical schools, the best of which can hardly train for more than ten or fifteen different occupations. Accordingly, the commission "cast about" for a means of broadening the range of opportunities, in order that the disabled men might not find themselves in the exceedingly undesirable position of competing against one another in a narrow field, and the result was the decision to train as many as possible in establishments where they might hope subsequently to be employed. Under this policy opportunities are practically unlimited.

A necessary preliminary to putting this policy of "shop training" into operation is to know just where to find the opportunities. For this purpose the commission has undertaken a systematic survey of industries all over the Dominion—not the kind suggested by novices in work for the handicapped, who generally want to begin by visiting factories and finding out what positions might be filled by men with disabilities of a specified nature, but a survey from the point of view of possibilities of training. In each industry an analysis is made of the different occupations; the work in each one is carefully described, the general conditions, the positive physical requirements for the position, the rate of pay, chance for advancement and steady employment, the amount and nature of training needed to acquire skill, the attitude of the superintendent or foreman, and other details which put the vocational officer in position to know,

when he is considering a particular man, whether he has, in spite of his disability, the essential qualifications for succeeding in this particular occupation.

With the cooperation of manufacturers and trade unions, a gratifying degree of success has been attained in the first six or eight months of this experiment. In May, 1918, the number of occupations in which men were being trained had increased to ninety-seven, and the increase is chiefly due to this policy of placing men directly in the industries for training. It is recognized that careful supervision is necessary, to prevent the abuses which may easily grow up, but the advantage of a range of opportunities wide enough to meet every need is so great that it is worth the trouble. When a man is placed in an industrial establishment for training he is in all respects just like a pupil in one of the schools. He is on vocational pay, not wages, and his progress is watched week by week by the vocational officers of the commission. If conditions become unsatisfactory, he can be removed.

The number of occupations for which men are being trained can be expressed in much larger figures than the 97 quoted above from Mr. Kidner's testimony before the congressional committees in Washington. He said at the time that these 97 might be called 236, if all subdivisions were taken into account; and in *Reconstruction* for May a list of 179 is given, beginning with armature winding and ending with X-ray operating, with the comment that "there are not many avenues closed to crippled men." A report from Montreal about the same time shows that of the 160 men then under training, 40 were receiving it wholly or partly in private establishments, and that the 160 men were distributed among 56 different occupations, an average of less than three men to each. This development is one of the most interesting features in the Canadian system.

The length of time required for reeducation varies considerably. The average works out at about six months and a half, but some men have had two years of training, and the vocational secretary says: "If you ask me what is the longest course we

give, I should prefer not to answer that because I do not know yet." The theory on which the commission goes as to the amount of training to be given is a medium between the two extremes of thought on this point—between those who hold, on the one hand, that every returned soldier should be developed to the top of his capacity, and, on the other hand, those who say that all that is needed is to train them for some position in the shortest possible time. The commission thinks that "the truth lies somewhere between"; that it is not practicable to give every returned man as much additional education as he might be able to assimilate, but that it is important to remember that the men must be equipped to meet the competition which will come after the war is over and must therefore have more training than would be just enough to enable them to get work under the present abnormal conditions of the labor market, and that moreover it is important to be looking always for the man of exceptional talent and ability and to give him, when found, the fullest possible opportunities.

To find teachers for the vocational work, both in the hospitals and in the schools, has been a difficult problem. There were not many in Canada when the war broke out; even for peace needs they were scarce, and had been imported largely from the United States and England. Many of them enlisted, and some have been killed. A few were recalled from the combatant ranks to serve in the capacity of instructors in the military hospitals at home, but they could not go far toward filling the demand. "And so we have had to do this," said Mr. Kidner. "We have had to get the best teachers that we could and place them in charge of a hospital school, and the rest of our men have been trained on the job under actual working conditions. We have had no time to establish training schools before that [*i. e.*, training schools for instructors]. For new teachers we select a man preferably from among the patients themselves in the hospital. In classes in the hospital some men will stand out from the others, and we develop such men first as assistants in their own class and then as teachers in charge of smaller classes

somewhere else. The majority of our teachers today are returned men. . . . We have trained most of our teachers ourselves."

The superior influence of the man who has himself been "over the top" and wounded is recognized all along the line through the vocational work. Practically all the "counselors" who interview the men in the hospital are returned soldiers; twenty-five out of the thirty district vocational officers and assistants; and considerably over half of the three hundred teachers in the employ of the commission. "They can get near the man himself. They can get—if I may use the expression—'under his skin' and learn of all his troubles, all his home difficulties and his own ideas and aspirations, and they must get very near to the man before they are going to undertake the very serious thing of counseling him and advising him, and actually preparing him for a new future."

Another element which the Canadian Commission emphasizes is the desirability of a civilian atmosphere in the class-rooms and at all stages of the vocational work. With four or five exceptions, therefore, the three hundred instructors are in civilian status now, or at least are allowed to wear civilian clothes and conduct themselves as civilians in the class-room. It was found that when the teacher was in uniform there was inevitably a certain amount of reserve on the part of the soldiers, themselves also still in uniform, and a perpetuation of the military relationship, and this is out of harmony with the Canadian theory that it is better for men who are about to return to civil life to be surrounded as far as possible with conditions such as they will find in the every-day world.

We think that the sooner we can surround the man with civilian influences the better. He has to unlearn all those very necessary things that he has learned in being a soldier. A soldier is told when to get up. He is told when to eat. He is told when to play. In short, he has to sink his identity into the mass for the good of the whole. And we have found that to stand in a man's way when he is dropped straight from military discipline out into civil life. He doesn't fit in, and from the first it has been a cardinal principle with us that we would make our classes, even in the hospitals, where

the men are in other respects under military control, as much like a civilian class as possible.

Publicity

No pains are spared to spread information among the wounded soldiers about the opportunities which are available for them. Moving pictures have been made to send to England in order to show the wounded Canadian soldiers in the hospitals there what they have to look forward to at home. Twelve reels tell the story of disembarkation, of the treatment provided in the different provinces, of the way in which reeducation is carried on in a number of varied occupations. On the transports "literature" is distributed and posters are displayed, and there is plenty of evidence that all this is attentively studied by many of the men. In the clearing depots and the hospitals there is more literature and more posters, with special emphasis given to the proclamation that the amount of a man's pension is determined solely by the degree and character of his physical injury and that no deduction will be made on account of earning ability acquired or demonstrated later on. Finally, and no doubt most important, there is the educational work done with each man individually by the vocational adviser who makes his acquaintance as soon as possible after his arrival in the hospital.

To this carefully planned system of making opportunities known and cultivating the right attitude of mind among the men is probably due no small part of the success reported by the officials of the commission and those who have studied their work.

CHAPTER VI

France

In France the revision of the existing pension laws was fully as necessary as in England or elsewhere but the problem presented itself in a somewhat different way. There was no question of raising a volunteer army and no inducements to enlist were necessary. The country was invaded and the nation was called to arms under a system of universal service already in force. The needs of the families of soldiers left suddenly without their usual income was the more pressing question and this was met by allowances (*allocation militaire*) and a rent moratorium. What should be done for disabled soldiers, except as provided by the law of 1831 (see page 25), which was still in force, must be left to be considered later.

The pension rates, although increased several times, were acknowledged to be inadequate, but they were supplemented by various kinds of public and voluntary relief. The necessity for pension legislation was declared in Parliament and elsewhere to be "urgent"; but in fact French legislation has been deliberate beyond that of any other great belligerent.

By an interesting coincidence the Chamber of Deputies was actually considering when the war began a general measure of pension revision, introduced in March, 1914, by the Chamber's Committee on Social Insurance (Commission d'Assurance et de Prévoyance Sociale). Probably if there had been no war, the new law would have been an extension and adaptation of the Workmen's Compensation Law of 1898 and the beneficiaries chiefly in the mind of the legislature would have been those who suffer from accidents in the course of military occupations in time of peace.

This, then, was the background for the new legislation: an old law which had been enacted more than seventy years before and intended mainly for a professional army—in effect a retir-

ing pension law with anticipated service pensions to those who were injured, and a widow's pension which might be ordinary or exceptional, depending on the circumstances of the soldier's death, and might be obtained in her own right or by "reversion," according as her husband was himself in active service or a pensioner at the time of his death. The nation had accepted the principle in the case of deaths and injuries in ordinary employments that there should be compensation, the cost of which should be borne by the industry. There was reason to think that the principle was about to be applied to soldiers and sailors, as had already been done in Switzerland. In view of the great outburst of patriotic ardor, the disappearance of partisan differences, the universal recognition of the heroic qualities instantly displayed by the national citizen soldiery, the appalling loss of life and limb in the first six months of the war, it might have been anticipated that a new law in harmony with prevailing public opinion and social ideals, corresponding to the obvious needs of disabled soldiers and their families, would immediately be enacted.

Showers of private bills and amendments were indeed introduced; vigorous speeches were delivered breathing solidarity and gratitude to the country's heroic defenders; the government brought forward its plan; commission succeeded commission and report followed report. But the truth is that in no country has there ever been a sound basis for pension legislation, a consensus of opinion as to just what the nature of the state's obligation really is to those who are crippled in its service and to the families of the killed. The French Parliament, with certainly as keen a sense of obligation as any other, seems to have felt constrained to seek the sound basis, the theoretical justification of the new law. There were violent differences of opinion which, even in the face of the supreme obligation which they all felt, they must talk out to a finish. There were political ends to be served incidentally; but fundamentally the necessity seems to have been to examine the foundations, to hear in full all the objections and criticisms which could be urged against each

proposal, to reconcile varying views if possible, and to find a formula that could be accepted by all.

At the end of the fourth year of the war, the bill which resulted from this prolonged investigation and discussion had passed the Chamber of Deputies and had been sent to the Senate. It was expected that it would become law without much further modification. Certain special laws had been enacted in the meantime, including a relief measure for those who were discharged without pension; another, creating a special fund for compensating those who had been partially disabled in the war and afterward met with an accident while employed, thus relieving industry of any special risk caused by the employment of partially disabled veterans of the war; and a third, crystallizing the national system for the reeducation and placement of disabled soldiers and sailors.

The proposed change of base for the pension system, from relief and distinctions based on rank to reparation for the actual financial loss, analogous to the compensation law, was discarded after a searching discussion, and the law as it will probably be enacted will have neither the alternative pension of the English system, nor the war risk insurance of the American system. It is far more liberal than the old law in many respects, but in its fundamental principles it does not depart from the system which was developed for a regular army, in which a retiring pension was a part of the contract between the state and the soldier, and pension for disability was looked upon as an anticipated retiring allowance. Among the reasons given by the commission for not recommending a more radical change was that by the time the commission made its report a large number of officers and soldiers had acquired vested rights under the existing law.

The Extra-Parliamentary Commission

Serious consideration of the revision of the pension law may be said to begin with an official statement addressed on May 25, 1915, to the President of the Republic by five Cabinet Ministers.

In accordance with the recommendation in this statement an extra-parliamentary commission was on the same day appointed, under the presidency of the Minister of Finances, to make a general inquiry into the changes which should be made in the existing system of military pensions as well as into the indemnities which should be made to civil war victims. This preliminary ministerial statement is interesting for its reference to various proposals already pending in the form of legislative bills or otherwise, as for example that pensions should be given to parents or even grandparents when there is no widow or minor orphans; that supplementary allowances be made to widows who have dependent children; and that a distinction be made between the regular army and citizens called by the war into reserve or active duty—the existing pension law to be continued for the former while the principles of the Workmen's Compensation Law should be applied to the latter. While this suggestion was not adopted, the conflict of ideas between the two principles of service pensions and compensation runs through all the discussions of the three following years.

That the participation of the Minister of Finances in this memorandum was not perfunctory is indicated by a paragraph which points out that successive national budgets for more than half a century will be heavily burdened, not only by the new legislation to be enacted but by the inevitable claims even under existing pension laws, and that the financial aspects of the problem must therefore be taken into account.

Among the twenty-seven members of the extra-parliamentary commission were M. Pierre Masse, who was later reporter for the commission appointed by the Chamber of Deputies and who afterward entered the War Ministry to take charge of the administration of pensions; M. Lefas, who succeeded M. Masse as the official spokesman of the commission of the Chamber of Deputies and was thus closely identified with the measure which finally passed the Chamber; M. Justin Godart, who became head of the Service de Santé in the Ministry of War; and M. Edouard Fuster, Professor of Social Insurance in the Collège de France.

The commission, besides recommending reforms in administrative procedure, submitted two reports of permanent value, one discussing the legislation recommended by the commission, and another by M. Fuster dealing with the whole theory of pension legislation as embodied in the existing laws of France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Switzerland. From this report it is clear, and examination of the actual practice in various countries only confirms the conclusion, that however diverse the fundamental conceptions underlying the laws may be, all the pension systems come in the end alike to a series of compromises; empirical, as M. Fuster says, rather than logical, but responding for the most part to practical necessities and to the demands of public opinion. Attention is called to the striking fact that Germany, except as to the scale of disabilities, makes practically no application of her very well developed system of social insurance to her pension legislation, but gives the latter on the contrary a wholly distinct character.

The three guiding principles on which pension laws may conceivably be based according to M. Fuster are (1) recompense or remuneration[1] for service, of which the most perfect illustration would be the handsome pension granted, for example, by England to a great general like Lord Roberts; (2) reparation for injury, for which the state, considered almost in the light of an employer under ordinary workmen's compensation systems, may be said to be responsible; (3) relief in case of need, the general interest of society requiring that those who have been injured and the families of those who have been killed shall not be allowed to suffer hardship, and even that their standards of living shall be maintained intact. To make clear these three conceptions the case is cited of the widow of a soldier who,

[1] Valentino, in *Accidents de Travail et Blessures de Guerre* (p. 373), criticizes the combination of these two principles. Both are, to be sure, for service rendered, but the first, recompense, is a voluntary grateful recognition, the second rests on agreement creating an obligation. Remuneration as a basis for pension could appear, according to Valentino's view, only in a regular army or in case of volunteer recruiting where the promise of such remuneration becomes a part of the motive to enlist. There is no such promise or contract under a system of universal conscription.

although in actual service, dies of disease far from the front, as compared with the widow of a soldier killed in action. Under the first principle such a widow might receive no pension, as in France at the time when this report was prepared, or at any rate a pension much less than would be given to the widow of the soldier killed on the field of battle. Under the second principle, that of social insurance, she would receive the same consideration as the other. Under the third, if she happened to have more young children, or was of an age when she could not support herself, she might receive even more.[1] In order to judge of the effect of any system it must be known what is the purpose in view, what guiding principle has been chosen. It is equally evident, however, that the three divergent conceptions may all be taken into account, that an actual system as finally embodied in law and administration may be influenced by all, and that, as M. Fuster says, they may approach one another, coordinate and complete one another.

The report scrutinizes the various problems which arise in framing a pension law: the distinctions between a regular army and a national volunteer army, and between pensions in time of peace and in war; the extent to which account should be taken of length of service, of wounds, of illness; the delicate question as to whether only illness caused by the service or aggravated by service should be taken into account, or all illness arising during the service. Shall exceptional danger or heroism be considered? Shall the income or the social position of the family in civil life be taken into account? What should be the influence of all these considerations on the amount and character of the pension as well as on the decision as to whether it shall be given at all? What is the criterion of invalidity? What claimants shall be recognized other than the disabled soldier himself—wife, legitimate children, illegitimate children, parents, other dependents? What shall be the actual scale of pensions and the

[1] In the same way a soldier who becomes ill from tuberculosis may be discharged as in France without a pension; may receive the same pension as if disabled by wounds; or, on grounds of need, a larger pension.

manner of their payment? What provision is necessary for medical and surgical care, for artificial limbs and appliances, for social supervision, for reeducation, and for placement?

In connection with this comprehensive but rapid survey of fundamental principles, M. Fuster sets forth the facts regarding the existing pension laws of the three principal belligerent countries, Great Britain, France and Germany, and the neutral country which had most completely assimilated its pension law to the general principles of social insurance, *viz.*, the Swiss Federation. In this little country, which has furnished the laboratory for so many instructive legislative experiments, where there is no regular army, but where there is universal military service, the state during the period of military service is merely an employer like any other, compensating in proportion to civil earning capacity those who have the misfortune to meet with illness or accident. Neither rank nor length of service determines the compensation, but the extent of disability and its effect on earning capacity. England's comparatively liberal pension system is described in the report as adapted to the needs of a nation which relies, as England then did, on a voluntary army. Of the countries studied, Germany, rather than any Ally or neutral, was found to be in a position most analogous to that of France and to furnish the most instructive precedents.

The findings of the extra-parliamentary commission embodied in a report and in the draft of a bill submitted by the commission on behalf of the government and Parliament need not detain us, since this bill, along with eighteen others introduced by individuals and groups, was promptly referred to the commission of the Chamber itself, to which reference has been made. The most important conclusions of the extra-parliamentary commission were that there should be no general revision of the pension law in such a way as to adapt it equally to peace and war, but that there should simply be such changes in the law of 1831 as would meet the needs of the present war; and that there should be no distinction between the regular army and the national army, the imperative reason for this decision being the

importance of maintaining the unity of the army in the face of the enemy. "When two soldiers fall, struck by the same shell, when they are of the same rank, when they were giving to the nation from the military standpoint the same kind of service, we can not admit that they should be treated differently because they were in a different social situation or because they had been performing functions in life to which a greater or a less rate of remuneration is attached." This argument against attempting to assimilate the pension law to the Workmen's Compensation Law was reinforced by the consideration that extensive claims had already become vested rights under the existing law, and it was held to be either too soon or too late to change the basis of the law; too late to change it as a war measure, too early to change it to meet peace conditions.

The Parliamentary Discussion

Eight and a half months intervened between this report of the extra-parliamentary commission and the report made to the Chamber of Deputies in the name of its Commission on Civil and Military Pensions by M. Pierre Masse on July 21, 1916.

The war had then been in progress two years and, as the commission realized, no one could as yet see the end. It would bring miseries untold—sick, wounded and dead by millions. It was in fulfilling the holiest of duties that soldiers were falling on the field of honor or receiving their glorious wounds. Having paid their tax of blood, they had the absolute right to expect from national gratitude and from national solidarity a support in their distress and a reward for the incomparable service which they had rendered.

This is the keynote of the exhaustive and valuable report and of the protracted parliamentary discussion which ran through the next year and a half; for it was not until every principle, every schedule, every assumption, practically every phrase of the bill had been scrutinized, attacked and defended, referred back to the commission to be reexamined, discussed

in detail, and again in relation to the whole scheme, sometimes on its merits, sometimes it is to be feared with an eye to parliamentary records, and not until numerous changes—usually in the direction of greater liberality—had been made, that the bill recommended by its own pension commission, as thus amended, finally received a unanimous vote of the Chamber on February 5, 1918, and was sent to the Senate.

The Masse report and the parliamentary debate exhibit a conscientious determination to weigh every pertinent consideration, to evade no issue and at the same time to try to reach a reconciliation of views. The report is in six parts: I. A historical sketch of French legislation. II. An inquiry into the general principles which should control the preparation of the proposed law and an examination of the suggestions contained in the various measures which had been referred to the commission. III. A summary of the proposed law and a comparison with the provisions of the law of 1831. IV. Text of the proposed law with explanations and with parallel text of the recommendations of the extra-parliamentary commission. V. Statement of benefits other than the pension which are reserved for discharged soldiers or their claimants. VI. Financial provisions.

The commission, insisting that the measure which it presented to the Chamber was inspired by those sentiments of gratitude, of good will, and of generous national fraternity which Parliament and the nation had always shown to soldiers and their families, claimed for it the following special characteristics:

1. Separation of the pension legislation from any question of retirement from service.

2. Respect for vested rights.

3. Treatment of all pensions, grants and allowances arising from the law as positive rights with legal sanctions—not bounties or favors.

4. Admission of whole new classes of beneficiaries, parents and grandparents, illegitimate children, claimants on account of "missing" soldiers.

5. Taking into account the size of family, an increase for each child in the allowance to widow or disabled.

6. Recognition of aggravation of illness or infirmity by military service as a ground for pension on the same basis as for illness originating in the service.

7. Creation of a presumption of proof in favor of the wounded and the sick.

8. Creation of a presumption of proof in favor of widows.

9. Establishment of an accurate and scientific ratio between disability and compensation, similar to that which exists in the case of industrial accidents.

10. Admission of contradictory expert medical opinion.

11. Increase of rates for the benefit of widows and children of common soldiers and corporals and for the benefit of invalids.

12. Extension of the law to mobilized workmen in factories and to noncombatant soldiers.

The commission declares that the nation will not consider its obligation discharged by the award of a pension; that social aid to the disabled, to widows, old parents and children of soldiers must take every form and adapt itself to every situation.

By the time the pension bill passed to a final vote in the Chamber of Deputies, it had been sensibly modified, mainly by the increase of rates and the addition of guarantees of various kinds intended to make more secure the rights or to diminish the difficulties of claimants for pensions.

The normal allowance for a common soldier who is completely disabled was fixed at 1,500 francs, with an additional 300 francs for those who were wholly blind or had suffered an amputation of two limbs.[1] Disabilities of less than eighty

[1] It is interesting that the French Parliament, like the American Congress, refused to leave the fate of the blinded soldier and of the man who has lost two limbs to the discretion of administrative officials under the working of the ordinary legislative provision. On July 13, 1917, while the general bill was still under consideration, a brief independent law was enacted assuring to the common soldier and sailor thus disabled a pension of 1,200 francs, with corresponding pensions up to 5,025 francs for a *chef de bataillon*. No doubt soldiers and sailors thus completely disabled will have the benefit of the higher rates provided under the general law as soon as it is enacted.

per cent were calculated on a lower base than that taken for complete disability. Thus a disability rated at sixty per cent entitled the claimant to a pension of 600 francs, one of forty per cent to 400 francs, and one of twenty per cent to 200 francs. The table had originally been symmetrical, but from sympathy for the *grands blessés* an increase in their favor was made as the result of an amendment from the floor. The government and commission successfully resisted, for financial reasons, the attempt to make a corresponding increase in the case of lesser injuries. However, the apparent injustice is perhaps counterbalanced by the extensive provision for retraining of which the totally disabled are, of course, less able to take advantage.

Widows were granted a pension of 600 francs, and this was to be given equally whether or not their husbands were killed on the field of battle, the old distinction between normal and exceptional pensions being abolished except for the highest officers.

In the course of the debate it was decided to add a physician and a disabled soldier to each of the departmental Pension Boards constituted to hear appeals from the administrative officials. These two members of the local Pension Board are selected by the Minister of Justice, in the case of the physician from the medical experts on the official list of the tribunal; in the case of the disabled veteran from lists furnished either by the Association of "Mutilés," or by the Association of "Réformés."

Another amendment of special interest in connection with the present study is that which authorizes an apprenticeship, under state supervision and partly at state expense, for any disabled soldier who because of wounds or infirmities can not resume his former occupation. It is stipulated that an allowance of not less than one franc a day, equal to one-fifth of the wage to be received from the employer, will be given by the state to supplement the apprentice wage, and the contract between apprentice and employer must be approved by the inspector of labor both as to the wage and as to the duration of the

apprenticeship. If there was to be no wage, the state might pay two francs a day.

The Pension Bill as Passed by the Chamber

In the form in which the pension law left the Chamber of Deputies in February, 1918, it presented the following broad changes from the law of 1831, which it was to replace, and the schedules at the time in force under that law:

1. Substantial increases in all rates, especially for widows and for severely disabled private soldiers and sailors.
2. Supplementary pension allowances for children under sixteen.
3. Pensions for parents and grandparents.
4. Pensions for soldiers and sailors with disabilities rated at less than sixty per cent.
5. Reversal of presumption of proof to the advantage of disabled men and also to the advantage of widows.
6. Improvement of administrative procedure. Representation of disabled veterans on the Boards of Pension in the several departments of the country.
7. Supplementing an entirely distinct law which had already been passed regarding vocational reeducation, the proposed pension law establishes a system of apprenticeship under state supervision and with financial cooperation on the part of the state, for the benefit of those who can not follow their old trade and wish to learn a new one in which they would ordinarily receive some wages from the start.

Obviously three competing and interesting ideas have inspired and guided this measure through the Chamber of Deputies: the very ideas enumerated at its inception in the analysis made by M. Fuster—(1) recompense, (2) compensation, and (3) relief. If by recompense we understand also remuneration based on an implied contract, we may consider the first two of these principles as embodied respectively in the Pension Law of 1831 and the Compensation Law of 1898. Much was said about eliminating all relief features from the bill, but as in all similar

legislation in any country this speedily became merely a question of words. Whether it is called national solidarity or social justice or pension or relief, the purpose remains the same—not to allow those who have been injured or have become ill in the country's service, or their families, to suffer actual want because of their disabilities. It is true that the national purpose now goes far beyond this. Enlightened public opinion not only demands that all actual or implied obligations shall be fulfilled; that any danger of dependence or privation shall be averted, and that there shall be reparation for injuries; but that in addition, or if it be preferred, as a method of reparation, every surviving veteran of the war who has been partially disabled shall have the utmost possible cooperation from the state in regaining as favorable an economic position as he held before the war, or even a better position, if by any reasonable investment in physical and vocational education that can be accomplished. Hence the great variety of voluntary and official work on behalf of the blind, the crippled and the convalescent soldiers and sailors; the vocational schools and placement bureaus; the governmental boards and the local committees; the active interest of trade unions and of employing industries. France has naturally been a pioneer in all such directions. She has had a large number of disabled soldiers and she began to have them first among the Allies, with the exception of Belgium, whose disabled soldiers have been cared for and reeducated in France; and of Serbia, many of whose cripples have also come to France for reeducation.

The Function of Legislation

Pensions have their origin and limitations in legislation. To know what they are and what is their underlying purpose and spirit we must examine the laws and the reports and debates which precede their enactment.

Medical, surgical and orthopedic care of disabled soldiers, although provided under military and department regulations under legal authority, has its origin and limitations in the number

and the skill of available physicians and their auxiliaries, in the conditions of warfare, and in the medical organization of the army.

Economic and vocational restoration of disabled men, although it may be encouraged and eventually regulated by legislation, has its origin historically, in France at least, in local and voluntary provision for soldiers returning to a particular town or city and needing immediate aid—a helping hand to prevent their being demoralized by idleness and by foolish sympathy, to give them a rational chance to regain a footing in the economic life of the community.

For pensions and insurance, the laws and their administration are everything. For hospitals and what is done in them and for the convalescents who go out of them, the laws are important but wholly secondary. Their chief function is to define authority and furnish financial resources. For vocational training and restoration to economic usefulness, general legislation may or may not be necessary, but at any rate it recedes into a very minor place. The training school, the vocational adviser, the employer, the enthusiastic friend, the trade associate, and the man himself are the main factors in the situation.

Convalescent Depots

In October, 1914, the French War Ministry, in order to relieve the military hospitals of work which could better be done independently, created in each of the twenty regions into which continental France is divided for military purposes, convalescent hospital depots (hôpital-dépôt de convalescents). This institution, born of the urgent needs of the moment, was required to receive all officers and soldiers without exception who should be discharged from the hospitals assigned to it.

The function of the convalescent depot was defined as follows:

1. To direct without delay to the depot of their own army corps those who seemed to be capable of resuming service immediately.

2. To take charge of those who have need of special care or of a period of repose, and to insure that they receive the appropriate treatment.

3. To recommend for special convalescent leave those whose incapacity must continue for a longer period.

4. To recommend for discharge (réforme) or retirement (retraite) those who are definitely incapacitated for further military service.

These convalescent depots, although organized in accordance with general ministerial instructions, differed greatly according to the character of the hospitals, general and special, in the region, and according to the number of patients sent to them. Those in the more important medical centers were naturally called upon to serve hospitals outside their own territory. The depot in Bordeaux, for example, was called upon to receive colonials sent from hospitals as far distant as Cherbourg for examination, either for convalescent leave or for discharge, as well as patients sent from several surrounding regions to the special hospitals in Bordeaux. Thus the depot had never less than 4,000 patients to examine every month and had dealt with a total of more than 60,000 by the end of the year 1915. Under these circumstances the depot had been led to work out an administrative plan which would permit rapid work, reduce mistakes to a minimum, and facilitate the discovery of such errors as should be made. The exact procedure for the hospital is graphically presented by Rouquette [1] in three concentric cycles with stations for each separate stage in the process.

The outer cycle represents the operations followed in the case of those who are proposed for return to their own military formations, with or without a ministerial leave of seven days. The convalescent appears at the entrance bureau, where a registration card is prepared. He then leaves his baggage at a checking station and calls for any mail at the post office. He then has his examination in the "Pavillon des Entrants." After a visit to the barber he goes to the clothing room for whatever new

[1] Le Centre Spécial de Réforme.

or second-hand garments he may require. He then receives any pay or reimbursements due him, obtains his transportation order at the "Bureau des Evacuations," calls again at the post office to leave his forwarding address, and at the checking room for his parcels, leaving finally for his regiment or for the place where he is to spend his seven-day leave, as the case may be.

Those who are proposed for special convalescent leave, or for discharge without pension because their illness or disability has not originated in the service, pass through a series of stations including all of those enumerated for the cured patient, but midway, after the general examination, they are required to appear in addition before one of three special boards, according as they are recommended for (1) convalescent leave, (2) discharge (*réforme temporaire* or *réforme No. 2*), or (3) assigned to auxiliary military service. In accordance with the decisions made by these commissions, those who emerge from this cycle, on leaving the depot, return to their homes on convalescent leave; or, as *réformés* No. 2, proceed to one of the institutions for the care of homeless convalescents or of such as live in the invaded districts; or rejoin their commands for auxiliary service. Ordinarily the patient who passes through the first, or outer, cycle is detained in the depot only one day. Those who pass through the second cycle may be kept for a longer time, dependent on the scheduled meetings of the commission before which they are to appear.

The third, or inner, cycle is that of the convalescents who are recommended for discharge with pensions or gratuities. Their course includes post office, checking room, barber, clothing room, and paymaster, but its salient feature is the Bureau of Pensions, where their medical and military record is scrutinized and, if necessary, completed. When their papers are in order they are presented in turn to the Special Examining Board, the Board of Control, the Board of Verification. After a decision has been made, they pass out through the same exit as their comrades of the other cycles, but to a different destination, since, if the

decision has been favorable, they are now free of further military demands and are assured of their pension.

Discharge Centers

In August, 1916, the convalescent hospital depot was replaced by the discharge center (Centre Spécial de Réforme), through which, as had already been done in the Bordeaux depot under its old name, all patients discharged from hospitals were to pass whether they were candidates for pensions, *réforme* No. 1, *réforme* No. 2, temporary discharge, auxiliary service, change of service, convalescent leave, or any other disposition. Candidates for a pension are required to appear in turn before three distinct medical boards. An examining board (La Commission d'Examen) inquires as to whether the soldier is to be discharged for incapacity (réformé) or retired (retraité), and whether he is to have a pension or allowance because of a definite connection between his disability and his service. His record must be most intimately scrutinized by this commission, which consists of two medical experts who may associate specialists with themselves, if it seems necessary.

The Control Board (Commission de Contrôle), established in March, 1916, consists of a physician and a surgeon, with a third member, if necessary. As far as possible the members of this commission must be chosen from among experts who have had court experience with cases of industrial accidents, and the board is looked upon as medico-legal in character. It serves as a connecting link between the local examining boards and the consulting medical board in the Service de Santé of the War Ministry. This board is charged with the duty of assuring the strict observance of ministerial instructions in the preparation of records and the necessary certificates. They need to know precisely what place in the scale of compensation belongs to each specific injury; whether any given condition is likely to be permanent or only temporary; whether the patient has perhaps refused to permit an operation which might have improved his condition, etc.

Finally the Pension Board (Commission de Réforme) legally verifies the patient's claim, certifying to the Minister of War that the wounds or infirmities render him incapable of continuing his service; that they appear to result from the causes specified in the record; that they produce a diminution of working capacity estimated at such and such a percentage; and that he is therefore recommended to the Minister for discharge with such and such a pension or gratuity, as the case may be. It is emphasized, however, that all this is only a recommendation, and that the decision rests with the Ministry.

The Beginning of Reeducation

The functional reeducation of the disabled soldier and the beginning of his vocational reeducation take place in the period between his failure to respond to the roll call at the front and his discharge from the convalescent depot, or Centre de Réforme. It may be a period of weeks, of months, or even of a year or more. In this period he has gone through a first-aid dressing station, one or more, it may well be many, general military hospitals, and an orthopedic institution in which he has in all probability had the benefit of massage, mecanotherapy, electrotherapy, hydrotherapy, occupational therapy, and, if necessary, special treatment in wards or hospitals of ophthalmology, neurology, psychiatry, facial surgery, or whatever other specialized medical, surgical or orthopedic treatment his condition might require. He has been fitted either provisionally or definitively with artificial limb or apparatus, and has been instructed in its use.

Preliminary to such fitting the stump has presumably been carefully prepared, and, indeed, the amputation itself, even if performed on or near the battle-field, has been influenced by the knowledge that eventually the patient will need to have such appliance fitted. The anatomical condition of the stump, the length of the bone, and the available cushion provided by the limb itself, is necessarily in the mind of the operating surgeon no less than in that of his orthopedic successor.

Operation and—as is frequently necessary—reoperation,

medical and nursing care, convalescent care, orthopedic treatment, fitting with artificial limbs or appliances, functional re-education of limbs, muscles or nerves, which by injuries or illness have been distorted or limited in function, instruction in the use of appliances or in the use of the organs of the body under the new conditions of life—all this may require a protracted period during which ordinary occupation is out of the question and normal home life in the family is, as a rule, impracticable. But this long period of medical and convalescent care is one which is of the most vital importance from the point of view of future occupation and usefulness, as the French medical and military authorities have not failed to realize.

After the first few days or weeks, sometimes from the very beginning, there are idle moments, unoccupied hours in the day —moments and hours which may prove to be decisive as to the whole future career. They may be periods of profound depression. After an amputation or other serious operation there may come a period of discouragement, a reaction against the intense activity and heroic exaltation of battle, at any rate a contrast with the open life and physical exercise of the army. The exalted mood may sometimes remain, but if the disability is permanent, there is at least realization that the service is ended and that, on the other hand, the old familiar occupation is probably impossible. The mind inevitably runs forward to the empty future. A hero today, but a wreck for all the days to come, is the substance of his reflections while awake and of his dreams asleep. Acclaimed, but useless; pensioned, but dependent; a glorious cripple, but a cripple—the thought haunts his mind, however bravely he responds to cheering and encouraging banter.

It is the first duty of the hospital and all who are connected with it, to prevent such haunting and distressing thoughts; to turn the mind from the very first moment into other channels; to put before the convalescent patient affirmatively, as soon as there are any idle moments, the wholly different mental picture of a fully occupied, socially useful member of the community. He is to be assured of his pension, but just as clearly assured

that he is not merely a pensioner; that it is not in his character as an invalid that he is to be welcomed home, or greeted by his neighbors or regarded by his government. He is from start to finish to be looked upon as a producer; as one whose remaining powers and capacities are to be developed thoroughly and systematically, not mainly for the sake of reducing the burden of others, but mainly in order that he may not be unduly a burden on himself.

Such assurances and the evidences on which they are based have a direct therapeutic value. Surgeon, nurse, and visitor would be justified in telling every patient what remarkable success others similarly afflicted have had in recovering their economic usefulness, in teaching the occupations appropriate to the hospital wards—bead work, left-hand writing for those who have lost the right hand, etc.—if for no other reason than to hasten their recovery. Exercises, of course, become necessary as a means of functional reeducation, and these may or may not be such as will contribute also to the skill which will be useful in some future occupation. Or putting this in the other way, it may be that certain movements which the vocational teacher would wish to develop as steps in teaching a trade might, unless properly controlled from the medical point of view, prove to be positively injurious. The development required for physiological reasons might at a given stage of recovery even be in conflict with that which is desirable from the point of view of vocational reeducation. For the most part, the two points of view can be reconciled, but where there is any divergence the medical and orthopedic considerations must, of course, prevail.

For these and other obvious reasons the direction of occupations in hospitals and convalescent institutions, and throughout the period of military control, remains in the hands of the medical military authorities; and vocational teachers, like nurses, masseurs, and other auxiliary operators, work under their supervision.

The National Institute at St. Maurice

There is one unique and important institution which in its evolution embodies better than any other the French conception of what the ideal organization of vocational education during this period should be. This is the National Home for Convalescents, founded in 1857 at St. Maurice, just outside of Paris. This institution was well known before the war for its orthopedic work and its success in functional reeducation. Associated with it was the Vacassy National Home for victims of industrial accidents, some of whose beneficiaries, while living in the asylum and receiving medical care there, had been sent to private employers in Paris to learn new trades, while others had been sent to day trade schools. The National Home for Convalescents promptly opened its doors to receive the wounded of the battles of the Marne and of the Aisne in 1914, but by March, 1915, it had become evident that there was a specialized work for these two affiliated institutions to do. Arrangements were accordingly made between the Ministry of the Interior, which had previously conducted them, and the Service de Santé of the War Ministry, by which the latter assumed responsibility for the orthopedic surgery and prosthetic service, while the Ministry of the Interior, under the common medical supervision, undertook to provide vocational instruction. Since May, 1915, this institution has been a national orthopedic hospital and center for vocational training, officially known as the Institut National Professionnel des Invalides de la Guerre.

Although admitted before discharge, its pupils may remain to complete their course. It is not one of the largest schools, and claimed to have reeducated by June 30, 1917, only 103 men. Its capacity at that time was for eighty boarders and forty-five additional in day classes. Its influence, however, because of its national character, its location, its large resources, and the distinguished direction of Dr. Maurice Bourrillon, is far greater than these numbers would indicate.[1] It provides instruction

[1] Much credit for the creation and support of the Institute should be given to M. Brissac, Directeur de l'Assistance et de l'Hygiène Publique in the Ministry of the Interior.

cobbling, tailoring, tinsmithing, harness making, motor repairing both for automobiles and tractors, besides accounting, industrial drawing, and elementary courses for those who are illiterate.

The other great orthopedic centers provide vocational as well as functional training, sometimes in the hospital itself, as in the Grand Palais in Paris, sometimes in schools in the neighborhood, which admit also discharged soldiers. Every military region in France has its orthopedic center, and in or associated with each of them are facilities for beginning, if not for completing, a vocational reeducation.

Vocational education for disabled soldiers may thus be a by-product of hospital and convalescent care. It may overlap and coincide with functional reeducation. It is not, however, in this complicated overlapping field that it is easiest to examine its real character and origins.

The Schools at Lyons

The characteristic features of vocational training for disabled soldiers in France are best studied in the great variety of local schools, voluntary, municipal, departmental, or national, which have sprung up in many places—in cities, in villages, in the mountains, and by the seaside; and in the plans for apprenticeship and informal training which are encouraged by the departmental committees, each on its own plan and more or less in accordance with local traditions, although naturally influenced by the central administration. Even this influence, however, is not wholly uniform, since some schools have been started by one Ministry and some by another, and the state has apparently had the greatest difficulty even in deciding in which Ministry the Office National to supervise this work should be lodged.

The real history of vocational reeducation of cripples of the present war in France begins with the publication of an article by Edouard Herriot in the Paris *Journal* of November 23, 1914, on the vocational reeducation of the "grands blessés." The school, however, was not to be in Paris, where M. Herriot was sitting as Senator for the Department of the Rhone, but in his

own Lyons, where he was Mayor. One week after his discussion in the *Journal* he secured favorable action from his municipal council for a project to establish a school in which soldiers so disabled as to be incapable of resuming their former employment should be instructed in some new trade compatible with their infirmities.

The story of the Ecole Joffre, as it afterward came to be called, has often been told: by M. Herriot himself in prefaces and addresses; by Dr. M. Carle, who was its director for the first few months, in *Les Ecoles Professionnelles de Blessés*—a book which has been described as a *vade mecum* for most of those who have established similar schools; by Gustave Hirschfeld, Librarian of the Senate, who became director of the second and affiliated Lyons School, located in the suburb of Tourvielle; and by everyone who in French or English has attempted to give an account of work for disabled soldiers in France. The two schools—the Ecole Joffre in the rue Rachais and the Ecole de Tourvielle on the plateau Point-du-Jour, in the open country, on the Tourvielle road, are still quite as well worth studying as any others in France. They have some pupils who are not yet discharged, through arrangement with the Service de Santé, and there are subventions from the Department of the Rhone and from the state through the Office National. Essentially, however, these two schools are municipal, and they are supported mainly by the city and by voluntary contributions of money and enthusiastic personal service. Prior to April 1, 1917, the schools, although founded by the mayor and quasi-official in character, had their independent budget. Since that date they have been strictly municipal, their receipts and disbursements included in the municipal budget and audited by official accountants.

There is a common administrative council appointed by the mayor, of which the mayor himself is president, and the dean of the medical school and a manufacturer, vice presidents. The seventeen additional members include manufacturers, trade unionists, physicians, professors and men in public life. In ac-

cordance with a common French practice, one member of the administrative council is named as "administrateur délégué" to perform some of the executive functions which in America usually fall either upon the president or the executive secretary. Aside from the council and its officers and the chief medical officer, who likewise has responsibility for both schools, each has its own organization. The Ecole Joffre has had at its head from the start M. Basèque, and the Ecole de Tourvielle, M. Hirschfeld. The former was associated before the war with the technical and trade schools of the province of Hainaut, in Belgium, and was general secretary of the apprenticeship school for industrial cripples at Charleroi. This pioneer institution, founded in 1908, has had a marked influence on schools for war cripples in France, both through the ideas which it had already embodied in practice and through the teachers which it furnished for schools like the Ecole Joffre and the school at Montpellier for French soldiers, and also for those later established by the Belgian Government for its own soldiers, who because of the conditions could not for the most part be discharged even when permanently disabled, and so might remain in military service even after they had become expert in their new trade.

After the second school was established, instruction in the Ecole Joffre was confined mainly to commercial subjects and toy making. In the Ecole de Tourvielle the various vocations which have become familiar in schools of this kind everywhere are fairly represented: cobbling, tailoring, cabinet making, fur making, passementerie, radio-telegraphy, and horticulture being the main industries taught.

The shoe industry includes the making as well as the repairing of shoes, and there are special classes for the making of orthopedic appliances as well as for the making of the popular wooden-soled *galoches*. No vocation is more popular among the war cripples than that of "cordonnier." Most of the countrymen who have lost a leg, even many of those who have lost two—and of course the great majority of all are from the country—seize on the cobbler's trade as the one which of all

sedentary occupations will be most likely to keep them in their old home, at least in the neighboring village. They can establish themselves in this vocation with a very modest investment. They will be their own masters. They can easily have a small garden or other side interest, if necessary. It is practicable to earn six or eight francs a day, which with the pension will suffice for a livelihood under the inexpensive conditions of life in the country village. Those who have the necessary capital and initiative may take an assistant and eventually develop a small local shoe factory. Those who are less ambitious or less qualified than the average may take positions as workmen in such a shop. The war has decimated the ranks of cobblers, as of other village artisans, and the supply seems not likely to be in excess of the demand in the near future.

The director of the shoe shop at Tourvielle has organized it with reference to its specific task. He appreciates that he is dealing with grown men and not with boys; that they are not learning their first trade, but are being reeducated in a new one. They are taught to make a new shoe before repairing an old one. And this, as M. Hirschfeld points out, is quite logical. He who knows the anatomy of a shoe will be more ready to heal its wounds, to replace a sole or put on a patch. First, however, the apprentice makes his knee strap and his leather hand protector, so getting used to sewing and shaping leather. Then he makes a pair of slippers which, when they turn out to be usable, he is allowed to keep. Then he makes a rough shoe, and later one of finer quality. He will have finished his first pair of shoes within a month after his arrival, naturally with more or less assistance from the instructor. He will have finished his course in eight months or a year, with the prospect of further skill to be gained from actual experience. Before he leaves he will receive some finishing touches in the way of suggestions about the choice of goods, the development of a clientèle, and other useful matters.

The school has found a ready market for its output, and so has been enabled to pay the pupils for their work. The schools

themselves, the municipal administration of Lyons, the government, various war agencies, the shoe shops of the city, and private customers have patronized the shoe department. Shipments have been made to the provinces and to Switzerland. To the end of May, 1917, some 28,000 francs had been paid to workers in the school. At that time sixty had finished the course, of whom twelve took further instruction in the special course in the making of orthopedic appliances, twenty-one remained to work, some of whom were only awaiting the chance to return to their homes in the invaded territory, and twenty-seven were successfully established on their own account. Of the sixty, thirty-four had been farmers before the war, four had been masons, and four miners. The remainder were distributed among sixteen occupations. Two of them had lost both legs, one both feet, another had double paralysis. Forty-six had lost one leg, thirty-five above the knee and eleven below. All had injuries which affected the use of one or both of the lower limbs.

The candidates for the tailor shop, like those for the shoe shop, are nearly all leg cripples. Like the would-be cobblers, they nearly all come from the country. Like them they want to return and find a place among their old neighbors. They are under two temporary disadvantages. The course is a longer one, not less than eighteen months, and there is during the war less demand for new clothing than for shoes or *galoches.* Those who leave the course are especially urged to follow the advice—which is given, for that matter, to all—to take at first a position with an employer, there to await better days, and in the meantime to gain indispensable experience and get accustomed to dealing with customers.

The first exercises in the tailor shop are designed to teach the use of the thimble and the needle, to limber up the fingers, and to make them sensitive to the various stitches: basting, felling, back stitching, chain stitching, buttonholing, etc. Then the apprentice is put at making trousers under close supervision. At the end of a few weeks he tries his hand at the vest, and after four or five months at the coat, and then other garments,

such as overcoats. A full year is required to become proficient in assembling and finishing. The instruction is finished with lessons in trying on and adjusting. Tailors who have only one leg find no special difficulty in running the foot-power sewing machines. Those who have artificial legs lay them aside in the shop as an incumbrance.

We may pass over the other classes more rapidly, although each has its special interest.[1]

The fur shop was started at the suggestion of some local fur merchants who wished to develop French workmen to replace those whom they had recruited from beyond the Rhine. Wood-working and carpentry had proved in general too severe an occupation for cripples, but cabinet making offered an appropriate field. To lighten the labor an electric ribbon saw and "molding top" is installed, such as would be found in most shops in which the men would be likely to be engaged. Fine wardrobes, desks, chests and tables, requiring delicate and patient labor, are specialties of the cabinet shop. This kind of work gives an opportunity for a thorough study of wood and a development of artistic skill and taste. Much of it can be done even by a one-armed worker.

The course in wireless telegraphy was created in response to a pressing demand from the army. A very complete installation of apparatus was made and good results were promptly secured. The first eighteen men to receive the diploma immediately engaged in military service: five in Morocco, ten at the Eiffel Tower and the Doua, and three in seacoast stations. It is interesting to note their previous occupations. The first was a waiter, wounded in the thigh and the right wrist; the second, only nineteen on entering the service, had no trade; the third, of the same age, amputated at the thigh, had been obliged to give up his occupation as a dispatch carrier. The others, in the

[1] While the writer has personally visited the schools in Lyons, as well as in Paris and Bordeaux, he has drawn freely on the excellent account of the Tourvielle school by M. Hirschfeld, which is embellished with attractive illustrations from drawings by Frieda. An abridged translation has been published in America by the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men.

order of their admission to the course, were: bank employe, farmer, chauffeur, waiter, miner, butcher boy, metallurgical worker, pork dealer, sailor, machine operator, clerk, mason, business agent, driver, farmer.

According to the terms of a ministerial decree, the infirmities which are compatible with service as a wireless operator are: the loss of one eye, if the other is in good condition; the loss of hearing in one ear, if that of the other is perfect; the loss of one leg, provided walking is feasible and remaining in an upright position for a prolonged period; slight ankylosis of one arm. Under present conditions there is immediate employment at good wages for all who qualify to pass the necessary examinations.

For the class in gardening it is naturally a question primarily of special apparatus, since for the majority it is not a case, as it is with cobbling, tailoring, or wireless, of learning a new trade. It is rather learning how to perform operations already familiar with less than the normal supply of natural limbs. Still the change from ordinary farm work to the kind of horticulture or gardening that the disabled man will find most suitable and profitable involves much new information, and the course extends normally through the four seasons of a full year. A special shoe which may be attached to the end of the peg leg to prevent sinking into the ground, and a ring, or ring and hook, a tool carrier which may be attached on occasion to spade, fork or plow handle, are the essentials of special apparatus. Implements have been devised in considerable variety and one may see remarkable exhibitions of what may be done with them. The serious schools, however, are more concerned with the general adoption of comparatively simple, reliable appliances than with the marvels which may be shown in an exceptional case by a combination of phenomenal dexterity in the performer with a complicated and expensive apparatus. At Lyons the school has gradually developed a nursery, a series of fruit orchards, and flower gardens in which very complete courses can be given; and a couple of Holland cows were acquired, partly for the sake

of the milk, but also to permit the beginning of dairy instruction.

The Ecole de Tourvielle is conducted on the "internat" principle: that is to say, its pupils with a few exceptions live in the school, where they receive without cost their lodging, food, clothing, and instruction. It is evidently, therefore, not sufficient to teach them the special trade for which they are registered. In 1915 M. Herriot had proclaimed that the first official to be named in a school for disabled must be a "teacher." In consequence, there has been teaching for all, aside from their specialty, in French, history, geography, mathematics, science, and hygiene, and a weekly review of the military events based on a reading of the daily papers. The responsibility of the school is conceived as going even further. Moral health is not neglected. The régime is not that which would be appropriate for children, though there may always be some who need almost juvenile discipline. Voluntary observance of certain rules is expected. The greatest problem, as might be anticipated, is that of the incorrigibly intemperate, and these it is sometimes necessary to send away.

The rules bear the appropriate heading: Be Good Comrades. The first section, typical of the spirit of all, is as follows:

> It would be to show oneself a bad comrade to go out in a slovenly dress, or to behave badly on the street, or to be impolite to passers-by, or to frequent the cabarets too assiduously. For in acting thus, one would throw discredit on all the pupils of the school. You are all deeply concerned that the school shall keep a good reputation.

The Various Types of Schools

The school at Lyons is now but one among more than a hundred in France, and the schools are but a part of what has become by a natural but by no means symmetrical development a national system of restoring disabled soldiers to their rightful places in their communities.

Bordeaux,[1] Montpellier, Bayonne, Pau and other cities have

[1] Although the Bordeaux school is named in the latest bulletin of the Office National as one of those which, like Marseilles and Lyons, have

followed the example of Lyons in founding municipal schools, with or without the cooperation of the department in which they are located, and eventually with financial subsidies from the state. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry, through its department of technical instruction, early entered the field, and by June of 1917 was carrying on fifteen schools in Angers, Marseilles, Clermont-Ferrand, and other important centers. Among these is the watch-making school at Cluses in the Haute Savoie, in which mechanics and electricity as well as watch-making and repairing are taught in a three-year course. In many of the municipal and departmental efforts the local technical inspectors and instructors play an important part, even though the school is not nominally conducted by the ministry to which they belong.

The Ministry of Agriculture has created four national schools of agriculture or horticulture, thirteen practical farm schools, nine special schools (sheep raising, dairying, fruit orchards, aviculture, farm mechanics, etc.). A large number of other schools, some of them departmental, give instruction in agriculture.

The Ministry of Armament has its own school for disabled soldiers in its works at Lyons, and exercises an oversight over the apprenticeship of discharged soldiers employed in munition factories.

The Service de Santé has created schools for vocational re-education in its chief centers for artificial appliances in six cities.

The Ministry of the Interior has under its direct control the National Institute at St. Maurice, to which reference has already been made, and makes grants to a large number of schools.[1]

The Departmental General Councils have taken the initiative

been created on the initiative of municipalities, the general report presented by its Director, Dr. Gourdon, at the Inter-Allied Conference of 1917 describes it as having been created by the Minister of the Interior with the financial assistance of the municipality and the Chamber of Commerce of Bordeaux and that of the Conseil Général of the Gironde. It is a training school for teachers for other centers and places emphasis on the scientific study of disabilities and means of overcoming them most thoroughly by appropriate appliance, education of stump, and special training for the sound organs to compensate for the loss sustained.

[1] In 1916 the sum of 1,986,000 francs was given to 60 schools.

in creating certain schools, among them the excellent one at Délivrande, near Caen.

Finally, in several instances particular trades and voluntary associations have proceeded to found schools, or apprenticeship schemes, without waiting for official action of any kind.

The result is what we see in France: an amazing richness of experiment, a spontaneous flowering and fruitage of genuine interest in the returning soldiers—something done for them everywhere, but not everywhere the same thing, and not necessarily the right thing at any particular place. It exhibits no formal perfection, no mechanical symmetry. No one profession —neither doctors nor vocational experts—have had it their own way. The surgeons of the army have full control before discharge, if they are in position to exercise it. But there they stop, except as they are brought in again in connection with some particular plan. The central administration is very powerful in France, but it has not attempted to force this work into a uniform mold.

National Supervision and Legislation

Parliament felt the necessity of legislating, but it exhibited remarkable forbearance in the scope of its legislation, merely providing, by the law of January 2, 1918, that every soldier and sailor disabled as a result of wounds received, or illness contracted or aggravated during the present war, shall have a right to attend a vocational reeducational school with a view to his readaptation to work, his vocational training and placement; that the "Office National des Mutilés et Réformés de la Guerre," in the Ministry of Labor, shall be the organ for coordinating the agencies engaged in this work; that departmental or local committees shall be created in each department, which may be subsidized by the state; and that the separation allowance shall be continued to the family if the soldier is not receiving his pension, or the difference between the pension and the allowance if he is receiving a pension less than the allowance.

This law merely sanctions the existing situation and provides

increased financial resources to the state, departmental, municipal, or voluntary schools already existing or thereafter to be founded and to local or departmental committees already at work or to be formed. The law was nevertheless a great step in advance.[1] Additional resources were needed, and such coordination as a national office of an advisory character could secure was also needed. It will be remembered that the Chamber of Deputies had included in the general pension law a plan for encouraging apprenticeship. Two laws had been passed in 1916 affecting the position of veterans: one of April 17, giving them a prior claim to a large number of minor positions in the civil service and also in private establishments enjoying public franchise; the other of November 25, creating a special insurance fund to meet any compensation claims for industrial accidents to disabled men.

The Office National, whose function was defined by the law of January 2, 1918, had been in existence for two years. It was an interministerial bureau under the joint supervision of the Ministries of Labor, War, and Interior. This bureau had concerned itself especially with the placement of disabled men, through special efforts of agencies interested in them and through the regular public employment exchanges; in vocational training in the schools and otherwise; in the establishment of depart-

[1] On November 23, 1914, M. Pierre Rameil introduced a bill in the Chamber, requiring all pensioners "capable of exercising a new vocation" to take a course of at least six months in a vocational school. The Commission d'Assurance et de Prévoyance Sociale, to which the bill was referred, reported instead a bill creating an "Office National" to coordinate efforts for the reeducation of the disabled, and giving to all whose disabilities prevented them from resuming their former occupation the right to a vocational course. Thus the obligation—exactly as was done in America—was transferred from the disabled soldier to the state: *i. e.,* instead of an obligation to take a course, it became one to give the reeducation to those who ask for it.

The bill, after a change lodging the Office National in the Labor Ministry, where the work in fact had already begun, instead of in the Ministry of the Interior, passed the Chamber and went to the Senate, where it was referred to the Commission de l'Armée. Senator Paul Strauss, on behalf of the commission, made a searching and comprehensive report, on July 4, 1916, sketching the history of professional reeducation in France, and thoroughly revising the text of the bill, although retaining substantially its main provisions. This draft, somewhat modified by the Senate, was accepted by the Chamber, and became law on January 2, 1918. The Strauss report is one of the important sources of information on the subject.

mental committees; and in general educational propaganda, especially through an Inter-Allied Conference held in Paris in 1917 and in London in 1918, which has now been organized on an independent basis under a permanent inter-allied committee with its own official organ known as *La Revue Interalliée pour l'Etude des Questions Intéressant les Mutilés de la Guerre.*

Statistics of Schools

The Office National obtained definite information from 52 schools of all kinds in 1915, although some of them did not begin actual work until the following year. For 1916, official reports were obtained from 71 schools and for 1917 from 160. Some of these, however, were still in process of organization and statistical information for the year ending June 30, 1917, covered only 103 schools. The total administrative and teaching personnel of these schools amounted to 1,200, of whom 900 were instructors. The schools had accommodations for ten thousand pupils, of whom a little more than one-fourth would attend day classes only, while 7,240 could be received as boarders. The actual number in attendance on June 30, 1917, was about 5,700, or 57 per cent of the possible maximum—considerably less in fact than could have been received as boarding pupils. The number in attendance, however, on June 30, 1917, which was 5,618, shows an increase of 58 per cent over the number on the same date of the preceding year, and in the next twelve months the actual increase in numbers was not less, although the ratio of increase was reduced.

Only 37 per cent of those who left the schools during the year had completed a prescribed course of instruction. In six principal centers of reeducation the proportion rose to 69 per cent; and if these six be omitted the remaining 96 schools from which information was obtained as to this point could show only about 20 per cent who completed their course before leaving. The average stay in all the schools was about three months. If all had remained until the end of their course, it is calculated that this average would be increased to four months. Evidently this

calculation includes many brief courses, as the principal trades seriously taught in the best schools require from six to twelve months. Taking the results as given by the Office National, it is evident that on a basis of courses of four months, the existing schools with accommodations for 10,000 could train 30,000 disabled men in a year, provided demands were uniformly distributed so that all the schools could be constantly working at their maximum capacity. From the data given by the schools in response to another inquiry, it appears that by the end of 1917 there had actually been sent out from all of them, with either a complete or a partial reeducation, about 20,000.

Altogether more than one hundred distinct subjects, industrial, commercial, or agricultural, have been taught in these classes. Some fifty per cent of the pupils, however, are found in the classes which teach seven favorite subjects. In the order of their popularity these are shoemaking and cobbling, agriculture with motor-mechanics, accounting, mechanics, tailoring, basket making, brush making. If general elementary education be included as a separate branch, it would come third in the above list and the proportion of choices for the eight subjects would be 60 per cent. Among other subjects which attract a considerable number of candidates in order of their popularity are saddlery, chair making, stenography and other office work, horticulture, cabinet making, industrial drawing, watch making, tin smithing, metal and wood turning, binding, etc. Grouping the subjects taught into the three usual grand divisions it appears that among those who were studying in the reeducational schools on June 30, 1917, about 13 per cent were preparing for agriculture, 24 per cent for commerce and the liberal professions and 61 per cent for industrial trades and transportation. Leaving out of account the courses in general elementary education, the proportion destined for transportation and industry rises to 69 per cent.

On the whole the schools have placed about 37½ per cent of those who have gone out from their courses, *i.e.*, 7,500 of 20,000.

The financial statements in the report of the Office National

for 1917 are for the calendar year 1916 and include only 76 schools. They give, however, a sufficiently correct impression of the ordinary sources of income and ordinary disbursements for the period prior to the operation of the law of January 2, 1918.

RECEIPTS

	Francs
Donations	3,142,738.16
Reimbursement by beneficiaries	285,066.65
Sale of products	823,510.31
Subventions by the state	1,755,489.75
Subventions by the Department or Commune	727,260.81
Other receipts	231,217.51
Total	6,965,283.19

DISBURSEMENTS

Administration	352,224.87
Salaries and wages	708,427.62
Living expenses, etc.	2,125,425.07
Purchase of implements	829,564.40
Purchase of materials	836,509.49
Other disbursements *	722,681.21
Total	5,574,832.66

* This includes building construction, wages or gratuities to pupils and payments to them from the sale of products, insurance against accidents, relief allowances, etc.

The Office National is concerned not only with education and the placement of the reeducated; but also with placement in general, whether with or without preliminary reeducation. Tabulation has been made of over 17,000 disabled men placed through employment exchanges or other reporting agencies, the results of which appear in the Bulletin of 1917. Omitting 2,000 blind, who are considered separately, the 15,293 disabled soldiers thus placed or candidates for placement were distributed as indicated in the following table. The first column indicates the number in each group of callings according to their new choice; the second the number in each group who are at present taking an apprenticeship or reeducation in their new trade. The third column shows the distribution of the same 15,293 according to their former calling. It may be noticed that only four per cent were without a declared occupation before the war. The fourth

column shows how many remain after their injury in the same group to which they previously belonged.

Occupational Groups	New Choice	Number taking Reeducation or Apprenticeship	Before the War	Remaining In Same Group
No occupation	1	...	139	1
Fishing and agriculture	876	193	2,675	684
Mines and quarries	98	7	533	65
Industry	5,850	1,982	6,064	3,140
Transportation *	2,989	196	1,629	682
Commerce	1,196	165	2,177	492
Liberal professions	2,427	569	978	590
Personal and domestic	752	43	216	34
Public service †	655	180	400	48
Occupation not stated	449	281	482	12
Total	15,293	3,616	15,293	5,748

* *Manutention, transport.*
† Including the army.

In all 38 per cent remain in the occupation group in which they belonged before the war. The various groups offer in this respect, however, sharp contrasts. Of those who were miners only 13 per cent remain miners; of those in domestic service, 17 per cent; in commerce, 23 per cent; in agriculture, 26 per cent; in transportation, 43 per cent; in industry, 52 per cent; and in the liberal professions, 66 per cent. Generalizing more roughly, we may say that agricultural and extractive industries keep one-fourth of their invalids; industry a little over half; and the liberal professions two-thirds.

These figures may not be taken too confidently, for they relate only to men who have sought help in finding employment. Among those who have readjusted themselves without assistance the proportion who have gone back to their former occupations would undoubtedly be much greater in every occupational group. Especially misleading is the impression that three-fourths of the agriculturists have abandoned the fields. What these figures mean is rather that many have taken this occasion to learn a trade which they will practice in addition to cultivating their plot of ground. The small proportion of those engaged in public service remaining in the same group is explained when we reflect that many of these men were soldiers, and that they are now

unfit for military service. To satisfy the poignant desire to know to what extent disabled soldiers and sailors resume their former occupations, we shall have to await figures that include the facts about men who have gone back to work without the intervention of an employment agency or other institution.

The more serious the injury, the more likely is a change of occupation from agriculture, the more likely a change to industry or a clerical or professional calling. The loss of an eye does not prevent a farmer from remaining on the farm, but the loss of a leg or serious lameness strongly impels the victim away from any occupation like farming, quarrying, transportation, or commerce, and toward some trade which can be carried on without much walking. These exceedingly probable generalizations are confirmed by the table quoted above. One striking way of showing the result of the shifting among the 15,000 men is to point out that before the war agriculture claimed 18 per cent of them; after their injury six per cent; thus losing two-thirds of its proportion. Industry and transportation, with a large majority before the war, held their own, slightly increasing their share. Commerce and domestic service lost slightly, while public service and the liberal professions, claiming only nine per cent before the war, more than doubled, increasing to 21 per cent as a result of the redistribution.

The statistics concerning the blind are of interest, but as more than one-half (1,000 out of 1,981) were as yet without a decision as to their new occupation they must of course be taken with reserve. The proportion of those who before the war were in agricultural occupations and who can not return to them is much larger than with men of other infirmities. The industrial group, including transportation, claims 746 as against 688 before the war. All other groups show a falling off, and in industry the actual occupation is of course usually different from the former one. Of those who have chosen a new occupation, 495 are making brushes, 116 chair seats, and 41 baskets. There are 56 masseurs, 39 stenographers or typists, 17 piano tuners, and 16 cobblers. Forty-one describe themselves as farmers

or farm laborers. The others are distributed among twenty-three occupations, including those of cabinet maker, cooper, bookbinder, telephone operator.

Blinded soldiers are the object of a special solicitude on the part of the whole nation. Special agencies have been formed to aid them, and others which existed before the war to aid the blind have turned their attention to the special needs of soldiers who have lost their sight. A conference of eighteen of these agencies was created, with the cooperation of the Office National in March, 1917, to promote their common purposes, which were defined to be (1) vocational reeducation, (2) placement and (3) relief to the blind. This conference, through four of its constituent members—Les Amis des Soldats Aveugles, L'Association Valentin Haüy, Le Phare de France, and Le Foyer du Soldat Aveugle—undertook with temporary American support to care for the blind soldiers whose homes were in the invaded region or in bombarded places.

Departmental Committees

The most important local administrative official in France is the departmental *préfet*. He embodies for all public service the authority and prestige of the central government. Appointed by the Minister of the Interior, and responsible to him, the *préfet* yet represents in many respects any ministry which has occasion to come into direct relation with the local communities. He has to do with schools, with roads, with the military census. Naturally therefore the *préfet* has to do with the pensioning, relief, education and placement of disabled soldiers. If we wish to know what is really happening to disabled soldiers after their discharge, as distinct from what enthusiastic advocates of particular plans would like to have happen, we shall do well to turn to the reports of the *préfets* from the several departments. Their official relation to the problem is manifold, arising from departmental subventions to local schools, or from action by the Conseils Généraux, or from the routine work of the Assistance Publique, or otherwise.

On their own initiative or at the request of the Office National many *préfets* had appointed special committees to promote the vocational education and placement of disabled men on their return from the army, and as has already been explained, the law of January 2, 1918, recognized and continued these committees, and authorized the appropriation of state funds for their work. These committees are sometimes purely bureaucratic. In Ariège, for example, the *préfet* describes the committee as composed of labor inspectors, the chief of the departmental labor exchange, a delegate appointed by the general commanding the division, the military quartermaster, members of the Service de Santé, representatives of the technical agricultural service, of the public instruction service, of the medical corps, etc., working under the presidency of the *préfet* to enable the invalids of the war to resume their place in the active life of the community under conditions most advantageous to themselves and to the general well being.

This particular committee, however, finds that the results obtained are not proportionate to the efforts put forth. Among six hundred disabled discharged soldiers in the Department of Ariège exactly nine thus far had expressed any desire to practice a trade and had been placed in a school to be reeducated. All the others, except those who were independent farm owners, were content to live on their pensions or demanded from the government the right to run a tobacconist shop, or be appointed a revenue collector, postman, or forest guard. "These candidates obstinately believe," says the report, "that the state owes them everything without having the right to exact the least effort from them, and they will not be convinced of the large disproportion between the number of candidates for the reserved employments and the places available."

The positions named—forest guards (sedentary), tax receivers, and postmen—are among those in which the demand from disabled veterans far exceeds the supply. There is, however, a long list of reserved occupations, requiring, it is true, higher educational or technical qualifications, in which thus far

the number of vacancies far exceeds the demand. It may be that the fact that Ariège is an agricultural department, and offers no reeducation except in agriculture, explains in part the unfortunate lack of response to the efforts of the committee. Especially pathetic is the complaint of the *préfet* that on bringing together in each canton the discharged disabled soldiers at the mayor's office and setting before them in a familiar talk the whole system of reeducation and free placement devised for their benefit, commenting on the published pamphlets on the subject and trying to be as clear and as persuasive as possible, he was listened to attentively but his advice was not followed.

Quite different in tone is the report from the Loiret, where the Orleans Association carries on a school through which 403 were placed in positions in 1916 and 1917; and from Mayenne, where the departmental association established a serious collaboration with the important industries for apprenticeship and employment, by which 179 were definitely placed in positions between July, 1915, and December, 1917.

In another department—the Saône-et-Loire—an association has gone so far in its desire to place or keep disabled farmers on the land, as to make allowances to meet the rental of land, as well as to cover the purchase of animals and implements. Allowances have been made for the same purposes to disabled farm laborers, supplementing their regular wages. In the Sarthe a different plan has been tried, involving loans to a maximum sum of 3,000 francs for a term of five years at four per cent interest. There is no interest, however, the first year and the full amount of interest and insurance is not paid by the borrower until the last year. The same committee has another plan for enabling disabled men to become owners of small properties. For this purpose 8,000 francs may be loaned for fifteen years. In the first third of the period the borrower pays no interest.

These instances are cited only as indications of the diversity of program and freedom of initiative among the departmental and local committees. The Office National makes some attempt to standardize their work by calling attention to plans

which might be adopted generally, but they cherish their autonomy and set great store by their knowledge of local character and conditions. Like the schools, the departmental committees prefer to be unlike one another, and to remain in harmony for better or worse with that particular region of France in which they have sprung up, discovering in their own way the needs of their returning fellow countrymen and responding as they deem best to those needs, unless by chance some one else has done it before them or unless on the whole it appears that the cripples will get on without any special help.

CHAPTER VII

Germany and Austria[1]

The Central Powers were better prepared at the start to care for their disabled men than were the Allies, just as they were better prepared to wage war. Both Germany and Austria already had in operation pension systems which, especially that of Germany, have been only slightly modified to meet the demands of the present situation. In Germany, furthermore, there had been a marked development of institutions for the care and education of crippled children during the preceding decade, and there existed a national organization for the care of cripples, which was ready to formulate a comprehensive program and principles of action, as well as to serve as an agency through which available resources could be promptly utilized.

Pensions for Disability[2]

The German system of pensions rests on what an admiring Swedish visitor last summer called "the broad and solid foundation assured by the laws of May 31, 1906," one of which provided for officers, the other for non-commissioned officers and privates, of the army, navy, and colonial forces, and a third law of May 17, 1907, concerning survivors of men and officers who die in service. An amendment of June 29, 1912, had provided

[1] It is especially important to remember that this chapter refers throughout to the system which was in existence in the summer of 1918.

[2] For information on this subject we are especially indebted to Publication No. 28 of the United States Children's Bureau, prepared under the direction of Major S. Herbert Wolfe; and to the special report of the Commission Extraparlementaire, prepared by M. Edouard Fuster, to which reference was made in the preceding chapter.

for aeronauts, and in 1913 some of the figures applying to non-commissioned officers and men had been increased.

The changes in these basic laws since the beginning of the present war, though few, contain several interesting provisions. On August 4, 1914, war pensions were established for certain officials of the civil administration and their dependents. By the law of July 11, 1916, it was made possible for a man in receipt of a pension to capitalize his annuity, under certain conditions. In 1917, a decree of the Prussian War Ministry, dated June 15, announced that "supplementary allowances," which would take into consideration former earnings and not merely military rank, were to be provided out of a special fund set apart by the Imperial Government. This measure applies to men who had before the war a definite income from work, or a prospect of such an income, and have lost at least one-fourth of it as a result of their injuries; their impairment must amount to 33⅓ per cent or more, they must have made all possible efforts to be self-supporting, and their present income, including all allowances and pensions, must be less than 5,000 marks, as well as less than three-fourths of what it was before the war. In such cases the supplementary allowance may reach 40 to 50 marks per month. It is granted for only six months at a time, and is then reviewed in the light of existing conditions.[1]

Considered as a whole, Professor Fuster comments on the German system of pensions:

> Cette législation correspond bien à la conception que l'Allemagne s'est faite de l'armée: armée de métier, essentiellement, où il importe que les officiers aient un régime distinct et privilégié, où il importe aussi que des garanties soient offertes aux subalternes rengagés, aux sous-officiers de métier qui, à la fois, constituent l'ossature de l'armée et doivent ensuite fournir à l'Etat, dans un grand nombre d'emplois civils, dés cadres assurant l'ordre public.

The amount of the disability pensions is based on rank, extent of injury, length of service (in the case of officers who have

[1] An account of this law is contained in Miss Underhill's description of the German system, Publications of the Red Cross Institute, Series I, No. 13.

served at least ten years), and salary. Salary includes, in addition to the pay attaching to the grade, certain "pensionable" sums received according to the budget: such as good conduct pay for soldiers and sailors; bonuses for sea voyages or for specialized skill, in the case of reenlisted sailors; and in the case of officers, whether in the army or the navy, their "service allowance," allowance for lodging and servant, "table money," and hospital fee.

The minimum pension for total disability for a private is 540 marks; for a sergeant major or a mate, the highest of the noncommissioned officers, 900 marks. Commissioned officers receive one-third of their "pensionable" salary, with an increase of 1⅔ per cent for each year of service in excess of ten, up to a total of 75 per cent of their salary.

For partial disability a percentage of the amount which would be due for total disability is given, according to the estimated loss of earning power, as determined by special military medical authorities. Twenty degrees of partial incapacity are recognized: 10 per cent, 15, 20, and so on, up to 95, with 33⅓ and 66⅔ per cent interpolated, no doubt for the convenience of the officials who make the award.

In addition to the disability pension, there are several other forms of financial compensation for injury, applicable both to men and to officers. The administration of all these awards is vested in the Ministry of War and the Imperial Navy Office.

(1) A "mutilation bonus" is given for the loss, or serious disturbance in the functioning, of a foot, a leg, a hand, an arm, speech, hearing, or sight, or such injury to health that nursing is needed. The amount for one member is 324 marks for a private, 900 marks for a commissioned officer. For loss of both eyes, both arms, both legs, it is doubled, and for multiple injuries (within the specified range) it is multiplied by the number of injuries. The unit amount may be doubled also if the beneficiary is confined to bed or suffers from a mental disorder.

(2) A "war bonus," an "aviation bonus," an "accessory pen-

sum" for shipwreck or foreign climate, and a "tropics bonus" are also provided.

The war bonus is given to persons who are entitled to a pension on account of an injury received in war. The aviation bonus is the same thing for those injured in aviation service. The accessory pension for foreign climate or shipwreck is applicable to members of the navy and of the colonial forces. No two of these awards may be granted simultaneously. The amount of all three is the same: 180 marks for a private; 720 to 1,200 marks for commissioned officers.

A Tropics bonus is granted to members of the colonial forces who have been disabled on account of the climate to which they have been exposed or as a result of the peculiar perils of the colonial service. This bonus is from two to four times as high for commissioned officers as it is for men. It may not be granted at the same time as any of the three mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

(3) An "old-age bonus" is given to men who receive the war bonus or the aviation bonus if they are over fifty-five years of age, or if, although under that age, they are completely unfit for work, provided their total income is less than 3,000 marks a year for an officer or 600 marks for a non-commissioned officer or private. The amount of the bonus is such as to raise the income to the amounts specified.

In addition to all these forms of financial compensation, a non-commissioned officer or private retired for disability is entitled to a certificate showing claim to a post in the civil service, if he appears "worthy and serviceable" to the awarding officials. In certain cases, privates who have reenlisted, for example, a yearly indemnity is given in lieu of this certificate. This is the old Prussian system which excited admiration and imitation in the United States at the time of the Civil War. The certificate may be exchanged for a lump sum of 3,000 marks if the beneficiary has a plan for a good investment.

To visualize these provisions we may imagine a private pen-

sioned for total disability due to a major mutilation, say loss of both eyes. He would receive:

Disability pension (minimum)*	540 m.	$128.63
Mutilation bonus	648	154.35
War or aviation bonus	180	42.88
Total	1,368 m.	$325.86
If a reenlisted private, he receives in addition an indemnity of	240	57.17
Total	1,608 m.	$383.03

* This would be somewhat increased if he had been in receipt of a pensionable bonus.

Being totally disabled, he would hardly be considered "serviceable" and so would not receive the certificate entitling to employment in the civil service.

At the other end of the scale, a private pensioned for the minimum degree of disability which is recognized as entitling to a pension, that is, ten per cent, would receive only his disability pension of 54 marks, plus the war or aviation bonus of 180 marks, making a total of 234 marks ($55.74). A reduction of ten per cent in earning power would hardly imply any mutilation sufficient to entitle him to the mutilation bonus. He might, however, receive the certificate giving him a claim on positions in the civil service, if his abilities and character were such as to qualify him for it.

Officers, even of the lowest grade, would fare very much better. The difference between the men and the lowest commissioned officer is marked. For our purposes it is not worth while to enter into the intricacies of the computation of an officer's pension and indemnities. So many variables are involved that in the report to which we have referred algebraic formulas are resorted to in order to make the process more intelligible. For this study it is sufficient to notice that the officers are amply provided for.

Since 1916, a lump sum may be granted instead of the pension annuity, to enable the beneficiary to acquire or to improve landed property or to cooperate in a mutually advantageous building or colonizing enterprise with the aim of acquiring property. The

claimant must be between twenty-one and fifty-five years of age, though exceptions may be made above fifty-five, and guarantees must be given that the expenditure will be advantageous. The sum is determined by the age of the applicant and the amount of his pension, in which may be included for purposes of this computation a part of his bonuses to the extent of his war bonus. The sum is a given multiple of the annual pension fee as thus considered, the multiple ranging from $18.50 at the age of twenty-one to $8.25 at the age of fifty-five.

All allocations to non-commissioned officers and men, in so far as they are based on conditions which may improve or grow worse, are subject to revision, either on the initiative of the state or on demand of the beneficiary.

Injured men who came under the operation of the industrial insurance system of the state before the war, and who have continued their contributions for the required number of weeks, are entitled to the regular sick benefits and invalid pension, in addition to their military pension. The medical treatment which is an element in the insurance benefits does not come into question before discharge, since care is provided by the military authorities, but it may be resorted to in case of relapse after the man has been discharged from the army. According to a resolution of the Reichstag Committee in October, 1917, all invalidity pensions of the insurance system were to be increased fifty per cent for the years 1917 and 1918, premiums also being raised in the same proportion.[1]

There is ample evidence in the press, especially the socialist papers, that the satisfaction of the government with the German pension system is not shared by the people. Many complaints have appeared, charging that the number of disabled men who have been discharged without pension is enormous, and that the rates for all are too low, and demanding that pensions once awarded should not be reduced because of changed conditions, and that in the award occupation, age, and family circumstances be taken into account instead of military rank. The provision

[1] Publications of the Red Cross Institute, Series I, No. 13.

for "supplementary allowances" which was added last year is no doubt in recognition of this agitation.

In Austria the basic provisions for disabled men are found in the law of December 27, 1875. A life pension is given to all soldiers and sailors disabled in active service who have been ten years in service, and also to those whose term of service is less than ten years if they are invalided from wounds in battle or fatigues of war service, mental impairment, epilepsy, blindness, paralysis, injury incurred in service, permanent impairment of health, endemic, epidemic, or contagious disease, provided they are incapable of earning a living in civil life. For others below ten years temporary pensions are granted.

The amount of the life pension varies with rank and with length of service, but apparently not with extent of injury. For privates it ranges from 72 kronen ($14.59) at ten years of service to 156 kronen at thirty years or over; for the highest grade of non-commissioned officers the range is from 168 to 364 kronen ($34.04 to $73.75).

To the pension is added an injury bonus, which is of three grades according to degree of disability, but without distinction with respect to rank or length of service. For injuries of Class I, loss of two members or blindness, the amount is 288 kronen; for Class II, loss of hand or foot or an equivalent injury, 192 kronen; and for less serious injuries which incapacitate for military service, 96 kronen.

Even with the bonus for the highest degree of injury added to the pension, a private who had seen not more than ten years of service would receive less than seventy-five dollars a year, which compares very unfavorably even with the German figures. More generous provisions were included in the imperial order and the order of the Ministry of National Defense issued on June 12, 1915, in connection with regulations for allowances to the survivors of those who die. All the allowances established by these orders are only for the duration of the present war and six months after its conclusion. The benefits for disability are based on the degree of reduction of earning capacity in the for-

mer occupation, three grades being recognized, as in the case of the injury bonus; and benefits are also provided for the wife, the children, and the parents and grandparents of the incapacitated man, in case of "proved necessity" and in case they received "essential support" or were at least substantially assisted by the disabled man. The amounts of these benefits are as follows, but in no case may the total amount, together with the invalidity pension, exceed 600 kronen ($121.56):

Degree of Disability	Amount of Benefit (Kronen)			
Loss of earning power in former occupation equivalent to	Soldier	Wife	Each child	Ascendants*
(1) 100 per cent	180	60	60	60
(2) 50–100 per cent.	120	60	36	..
(3) 20– 50 per cent.	60	60	36	..

* But not more than 120 kronen altogether to parents and grandparents.

Mobilization of Resources in Germany

For the first stages in the care and treatment of the wounded the army was of course equipped at the beginning of the war, and within ten days of mobilization, according to the statement of the chief medical officer of the Gardekorps, there were 100,000 beds in the military hospitals and the affiliated hospitals at the disposal of the War Department, a number which was soon doubled. Plans were immediately set on foot, also, for the later stages in the care of those who should be seriously disabled. On August 13, 1914, the Empress addressed a letter to the Deutsche Vereinigung für Krüppelfürsorge, calling upon the existing institutions for cripples to open their doors to disabled soldiers and sailors.

This national organization had been founded in 1909, and had relations with all the work for cripples in the Empire. Its secretary, Professor Dr. Konrad Biesalski, is a competent orthopedist and authority on methods of treatment and of education for cripples, and he evidently understands well the psychology of the disabled. He it was who formulated the principles and

established the outline of the national system of care for men disabled in the war which soon took shape.[1]

A questionnaire was promptly sent out, in August, 1914, to all of the 138 institutions in the country, asking for details as to the accommodations which they could furnish for crippled soldiers, and suggesting ways by which they could make room for the men—by crowding the children into one part of the building, for example, by finding other quarters for them with relatives and friends outside the institution, by persuading rich benefactors to put up new buildings for the soldiers which could be utilized for the ordinary purposes of the institution after the war is over.

It was found that the 54 homes for cripples had over five thousand beds, and that they maintained 221 shops for industrial training, where 51 occupations suitable for men were already being taught.

Immediately following this message to the existing institutions, Dr. Biesalski made a tour of Germany, urging the formation of committees for the care of war cripples, to supplement the work in the military hospitals.

From the very beginning, therefore, there was an understanding as to the demarcation of territory as between military authority and civilian, between the Imperial Government represented by the War Department, on the one hand, and the individual states and local governments and private initiative on the other. This definition of boundaries was formally established early in 1915. At a meeting of the Vereinigung für Krüppelfürsorge in February it was stated that the Imperial Government through the War Department was to be responsible for the wounded soldier in so far as he requires physical care, but that responsibility for reeducation and restoration to civil life would be left to the individual states or to private charity. Even then, however, there was difference of opinion as to this point, some holding that the Imperial Government ought to control and plan the whole work, or at least exercise a supervisory responsibility.

[1] *American Journal of Care for Cripples,* vol. II (1915), page 129.

The main features of Dr. Biesalski's plan, as outlined at the beginning of the war and embodied in the national system, were as follows:

Central hospitals for immediate treatment and classification, where the greatest care should be directed to prophylactic measures, such as the best methods of bandaging for transportation;

Specialized orthopedic hospitals for extended treatment, preferably outside the large cities, and distributed in all parts of the country, so that the men need not be far from home;

Committees connected with the orthopedic hospitals, for vocational guidance and assistance in finding employment, consisting of representatives of the hospital staff, of labor organizations, and of those interested in social welfare, such as ministers and teachers;

Utilization of existing labor exchanges, trade schools, workshops for training, and other resources, as far as possible, rather than creating special agencies; separate departments already exist in some of the labor exchanges, and it may be desirable that they should become permanent, but they should still keep their connection with the general system;

A vigorous, continuous, serious campaign for educating the public to the idea that the cripple is not necessarily incapacitated for economic life.

Characteristic Features

It is regard for the psychological aspect of the whole problem, not only from the cripple's point of view but also from that of the public, which seems to be the most striking characteristic of the German system. This is emphasized in all the propagandist writings and discussion of methods. Dr. Biesalski's monograph on work for war cripples, written in 1915,[1] is a good example. The work for men disabled in the war must succeed, he says, for all the conditions to success save one are already present: medical skill, experience with cripples, and the desire on the part of the authorities to do what is needed. The only essential condition which is lacking is the proper conception of the "physical capableness" of the cripple, and that, therefore, must be supplied. The sentimental point of view is that it is brutality to expect a man to work who has lost his hand and suffered pain for the fatherland; but socially sound commonsense replies that the crip-

[1] *Kriegskrüppelfürsorge; Ein Aufklärungswort zum Troste und zur Mahnung.*

ple shall still earn his bread and be an economically independent member of society as before, for his own sake, so that he may not despair of God and man and fall a victim to pauperism; and seventy-five years' experience with ordinary cripples has proved that work is possible even for the most seriously crippled if only the will is present.

This point, therefore, he goes on, must be tirelessly emphasized in every way, or all effort will be in vain. The enlightenment of the public must be undertaken through articles in the daily and periodical and technical press, through lectures and pamphlets and exhibits, by inviting the public to visit the institutions. It must be considered a sacred duty by all specialists in the care of cripples, a patriotic duty by every sort of publication. The Red Cross can do much, and so can ministers, teachers, doctors, civil authorities of every grade, sick benefit organizations, labor unions, professional societies, and employment bureaus. The key to the situation is in the instruction of the wounded themselves at the earliest possible stage. Every field hospital doctor has the human and official obligation to instruct himself on this point, and then on every tour of inspection he should announce "in a loud voice through the whole room" that the men will be able to work again and that they will be able to find work. The socially minded physician in the hospital can do wonders. He may see the downcast spirits gradually revive, the men begin to ask questions and to talk to one another about the future, come crowding to the exercises, and bear themselves as if they were thinking: "I need be no helpless cripple; I can eat my own bread with my family; and except for this small injury, which I shall regard as a mark of distinction since it was incurred for the fatherland, I shall be the same as before."

All this effort is the more necessary because of the natural tendency to despair and deterioration after the loss of a member, and because "we can force no one, we can only enlighten," and seek in this way to save the men from the "moral contamination" of what the doctors call "pension psychosis," the idea that the only thing left in life is the pension, which the mutilation must

be nursed to secure. Marvelous tales are told of the "psychic destruction" which this idea produces in its victims. "We must prevent this and we can—by laying hold of the man's soul, . . . and by removing the obstacles of prejudice and ignorance." The time to begin is soon after the wounded man comes into the hospital, "while he still feels the pride of being a protector of his country and before he has had time to worry over the future." Later there will be many weakening influences, but the doctor, in whom the patient has learned to place his confidence, is in a good position to administer this lesson at the time when it has a favorable chance to be effective.

The essential thing for every one to learn—doctors, laymen, and cripples—(to "take in," as he puts it) is that there is hardly any mutilation so serious that it necessitates entire and complete dependence. Even a man who has lost both arms and both legs may learn to dress, wash, eat, write, and earn his bread by his own labor without any assistance.[1] Let us never again see war cripples appearing as organ-grinders and pedlers on the streets. Close cooperation between specialists (*i. e.*, specialists in the care of cripples) and employers will make it possible for every mutilated soldier to find employment, and in addition he will of course still be entitled to all the benefits which the state owes him on account of his mutilation. Every one must learn, in short, says Dr. Biesalski again and again in all that he writes and in many different phrases, that "there is no longer any such thing as a crippled condition, if only the iron will to overcome it be present."

Another evidence of the importance attached in Germany to the psychological aspects of the problem is the desire to find some substitute for the word "cripple." An appendix of five or six pages is consecrated to this subject in a book by Hans Wurtz, *Der Wille Siegt,* the object of which is to demonstrate to the mutilated, chiefly by stories of what other cripples have been able to accomplish, that life may still be rich and full of hope. Dr. Wurtz has no sympathy with the movement to "substitute

[1] This seems a little optimistic.

euphonious synonyms" or to mitigate the word cripple by prefixing "hero," calling the men disabled in the war "hero-cripples." That is only "weak sentimentality," he thinks, and would moreover be an invidious discrimination against men who are crippled in time of peace. Dr. Biesalski, also, in the pamphlet from which we have been quoting, refers to the current discussion in similar terms, and points out that what is needed is to overcome "our selfish repugnance" to the condition itself and then the word will not offend. The word expresses serious injury to the power of movement or the posture of the body, and no euphonious substitute exists for the same idea.

Der Wille Siegt, with its very significant title, is only one of many pamphlets which have been issued with the object of "enlightening" the nation and inducing the proper attitude both toward and on the part of cripples. To this end an "educational campaign," similar to that with which the tuberculosis movement has made us familiar in the United States, has been carried on with vigor and ingenuity. An exhibit was held in the Reichstag in December, 1914, and has since traveled from one city to another. An illustrated hand book, with a directory of the 138 prewar institutions, was issued and widely distributed by workmen's organizations and insurance societies. Public meetings have been held, illustrated lectures given on the results of work done in the hospitals, and a continuous propaganda of encouragement has been carried on in the daily press. It is said to be the public policy to keep the maimed off the streets in the cities and larger towns,[1] and though there are more obvious reasons for such a policy it may be that it is actuated in part by the realization that the sight of wretched cripples is a subtle obstacle to success in making the desired attitude of mind in regard to cripples in general prevail.

The second characteristic feature of the German system, after this emphasis on the psychic, or spiritual, condition to success,

[1] See an interesting article in *The Engineer* (London), vol. CXXI (1916), p. 64, apparently by a physician who had had extensive opportunities for observation. Reprinted in the *American Journal of Care for Cripples,* vol. III, page 244.

which expresses itself in a Spartan insistence on effort and determination, is, as would be expected, the degree to which responsibility is assumed by the state and exerted through the military organization.

Social responsibility is not much debated. It seems rather to be taken for granted, again as would be expected. Dr. Biesalski refers to it, but apparently rather to round out his presentation of the subject than to argue it. Responsibility, he says, rests primarily with the military authorities. The resources of all the public and private agencies which can contribute to the needs of the disabled men must be utilized, but as each of these has its limited sphere of action they must be welded into a vital organization, and the only agency capable of doing that is the government. The state alone has the obligation as well as the power, and it alone can secure the cooperation of all the elements concerned and supply the continued and effective effort that is indispensable.

It is true that the responsibility of the military authorities is limited to physical care before discharge, and that there is no central governmental authority charged with responsibility for restoration to civil life, but this does not invalidate the truth of our statement. The curative treatment is so thorough, according to the best accounts that are available, that an unusually large proportion of the wounded are completely restored to their former capabilities, and therefore are not discharged from the army; in other words, the work of the military authorities goes farther than it does in some countries where the definition of responsibility is the same. Furthermore, although the work of reeducation and placement is not organized under the Imperial Government, it is directly under the control of the state governments in over half the territory of the empire, as will be described more fully later on, and in no state is it entirely dissociated from the government. In the hospitals military authorities and civilian and private organizations cooperate, but the military is supreme.[1]

[1] Miss Underhill, in her study of the German system for the Red Cross Institute, has been impressed with the "voluntary character" of the work, but

General Organization[1]

Physical care of wounded soldiers until they are discharged from the army, including functional reeducation, is organized under the medical department of the army, by army corps. It is not centralized for the empire, but the chief medical officer of each of the thirty-two army corps is supreme within his district. Local variations to suit local conditions are thus insured.

In addition to the regular military hospitals (Reserv-lazarett, Festungs-lazarett, or Garnison-lazarett), there are affiliated institutions (Vereins-lazarett) which are private or local hospitals wholly or in part at the disposal of the War Department, including specialized orthopedic institutions and homes for cripples, hospitals of the sick benefit societies and accident insurance associations, hospitals conducted by the Red Cross, by municipalities, by private charity, or attached to almshouses. The

her own account of the machinery as a whole (to which we are greatly indebted) does not justify her impression. She is perhaps speaking only of the work for vocational reeducation, but even that, according to her description, is very closely associated with the local state governments, in many cases being largely directed and controlled by them. It may be that one might expect a more complete governmental control, and an imperial state system, but it seems hardly in accordance with the facts Miss Underhill presents to characterize the work for disabled soldiers as a whole as largely "voluntary" in character, without, at any rate, a careful explanation of what is meant by that term. In so far, at any rate, as military purposes can be served, the government is not only in control, as in all countries, but, according to all reports, it succeeds in effecting an unusual percentage of restoration. One gets the impression, furthermore, that what is done before discharge or return to active service is an even higher percentage of the total amount of work done for the disabled in Germany than elsewhere.

[1] Sources of information about what has been done in Germany and Austria are less abundant than those for most of the other countries. Even before our entrance into the war we received less authentic material from the Teutonic countries than from the Allies. The Red Cross Institute, however, in the publication to which we have already referred (Series I, No. 13), has given a digest of the available material, both official documents and periodical comment; and two recent accounts by medical men who had had good opportunities to study the system contain harmonious data. One of these is a report by Dr. Sjögren, president of the Swedish Medical Association, of which an abstract is published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, February 9, 1918; the other is an article by Dr. Leo Mayer, of New York City, who until the severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany was chief surgeon to a base hospital near Berlin, published in *The American Journal of Care for Cripples*, vol. V (1917), page 78. Except when otherwise indicated, these publications, especially the study by Miss Underhill for the Red Cross Institute, are the authorities for the facts in this section.

Vereins-lazaretts remain under their old management, but a military officer is put in to take charge of the discipline of the soldiers, and a per diem allowance of 3.50 marks per patient is paid by the War Department. The relative proportion of these accommodations in affiliated institutions to the total varies in the different sections; in some they are an important part of the system, in others they are relatively unimportant. Additional institutions which are needed are created by the cooperation of the army authorities with civil organizations.

Efficiency and equipment no doubt vary considerably with conditions in different parts of the empire. Most of the descriptions which have reached us are enthusiastic accounts of the best institutions, than which it would appear nothing better could be imagined, but occasional comments suggest that they may not be typical of the provision in the remoter, agricultural regions. Much depends on the ability and disposition of the local commander, as well as on the existing facilities of the district.

The system of the Brandenburg District, in the center of Prussia, which is the seat of the Third Army Corps, is considered a model by those who have seen something of the German methods, and it probably represents the most thorough development of German principles. It contains 43 Reserv-lazaretts, large and small, the largest of which is at Görden, near Brandenburg. This institution had just been completed for an insane asylum. It contains a thousand beds and the most approved equipment, including "curative" workshops.

Recognition of the psychic factor as an element to be taken into account in treatment is conspicuous throughout the methods in use. For functional reeducation the greatest reliance is placed on gymnastic exercises taken under the military word of command, and on athletic sports. The military drill, which "strikes a medical observer as strange," is the idea of General Leu, chief medical officer of the Third Army Corps. The necessary movements for a disabled member are frequently painful, and no doubt the habit of responding to military commands helps to overcome the natural reluctance to make the required effort.

At first it was difficult to find military officers who were competent to lead such drills, but by prohibiting interference from superior officers when a man has been chosen for this duty, and by giving the men selected for it the training they lacked, that difficulty has been overcome. From the military drill the disabled pass to vigorous athletic sports, in which the element of competition is utilized to increase interest. Hand-ball for the one-armed, jumping contests for those who have lost a leg—or even both legs—are considered very valuable. For beginners in learning to walk with artificial legs the hospitals have ingenious devices, such as moving ropes along the corridors, by which the novice can guide and steady himself without assistance from a nurse or an orderly. When a man has lost both legs the first stumps given him are short, and gradually longer ones are substituted, as he becomes accustomed to managing his equilibrium at the lower levels.

"Workshop therapy" is considered superior to mere mechanical exercises, as it is in other countries, and for the same reasons —because of the greater interest in making something, which is not only a stimulus to the desired exertion of the muscles, but is also, like sports, an effective treatment for the psychic depression from which the men are apt to suffer. Participation in the work is allowed only on the prescription of the physician, but it does not appear to be compulsory—perhaps because it is regarded as a privilege. After a man is admitted to the shop, however, he is required to attend with military punctuality. No pay is given for the work done in the shops, but premiums in small amounts are awarded for skill and perseverance, ranging from three to twelve and a half cents a day. The economic advantage of well organized workshops to the budget of the hospital is not unrecognized, and they are made to contribute substantially to the needs of the institution. In some hospitals the workshops are a part of the medical equipment; in others visiting teachers are sent in by the local Cripple Welfare Committee.

An interesting detail of treatment is the cooperation which has been arranged with the health resorts all over the empire.

Over two hundred are available as auxiliaries to the orthopedic hospitals, where men may be sent when they are in need of medicinal waters or others specialized forms of treatment afforded by the "spas."

The object of all the treatment is to restore the men to the fighting line, or if that is out of the question, at least to some place of subsidiary usefulness in the military organization or to economic efficiency in civil life. To this end all the resources of the hospital are bent, and it seems to be a definite policy to assume that in practically every case this is possible. It is reported, though it hardly seems credible, that only three per cent of all who are wounded are permanently disabled for further military service. Many a soldier has returned to the front after more than one severe injury. In *Der Wille Siegt,* the manual of encouragement which has been referred to above, a cavalry captain tells how on October 5 his leg was amputated at the middle of the thigh, how he began to ride a "quiet" horse on December 12, and returned to active service on December 28. The anxiety to restore men to the fighting lines does not mean that those who will not be able to go back into active service are neglected. They are looked upon as possible contributors to the national ends in civil life, and it is recognized that they should be made as productive as possible.

Responsibility for this, however, does not rest with the military authorities altogether. It is their duty to restore the man to health and as far as possible to the normal use of his muscles and organs, but if he requires reeducation for a new occupation and assistance in reestablishing himself in civil life, that must be given by other agencies. In case of relapse or recurrence of disability after discharge, moreover, he has no claim on the military authorities, but must look to the facilities available for the care of other civilians in a similar situation.

For the permanently incapacitated a network of civilian committees—more or less official in character according to locality—has developed all over the empire, following the impulse given by Dr. Biesalski's tour in the opening weeks of the war and the

fostering care of the Vereinigung für Krüppelfürsorge. In almost every village there is now one of these committees for the care of those disabled in the war, as they are called (Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge), or at least an individual to represent the work for cripples. In September, 1915, a Central Imperial Committee was formed, to be a medium for exchange of experiences and for standardizing the work, though without superior powers.

The status of the work for cripples varies in the twenty-six states of the empire: in some it is official in character, in others quasi-official, and in all it is at least recognized and approved by the government. In Bavaria alone it is a part of the state machinery, financed and directed by the state in the Department of the Interior, with an advisory committee of representative citizens. In all but one of the provinces of Prussia, which means more than half of Germany, it is initiated and directed by the government, but with private cooperation and support; the Landeshauptman usually appoints the provincial committee and himself acts as chairman; all local committees are subordinate to the provincial committee, and in August, 1917, a central organization for all Prussia was formed; funds are provided by the provincial government, with the understanding that Prussia, and ultimately the Imperial Government, "must take over the burden." In most of the other states the work has been initiated and financed by private agencies, but with government cooperation. The committees generally include representatives of the municipality, of the military district, accident insurance associations and sick benefit societies, the Red Cross, Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade, Chamber of Handwork, employers, trade unions, women's clubs, and so on. There is naturally great variation in efficiency.

The Reichsausschuss für Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge, or national committee, which was created in the fall of 1915, is a large body made up of one representative from each state and one commissioner appointed by the imperial Minister of the Interior. The Minister of the Interior of each state may also appoint representatives if he so desires. An executive commit-

tee of thirteen, chosen with reference to geographical representation, constitutes the working nucleus. The function of the national committee is to coordinate the work of the various organizations, to publish manuals of advice, make plans for the future, and in various familiar ways promote improvements and standardization. There are subcommittees on legislation, cooperation of local committees, finance, publicity, statistics, medical treatment, vocational advice and reeducation, placement, land settlement and housing families of war cripples. The national committee is the medium through which the imperial grants for reeducation are distributed, but these have amounted to only 5,000,000 marks so far.

As soon as it is clear that a man will not be able to resume active military service, while he is still in the hospital, he comes under the care of the local committee for the care of war cripples, which is responsible—in theory, at least—for guiding him and helping him until he is safely placed in an employment for which he is fitted and in which he can earn a living.

Vocational advice is given by visitors appointed by the committee and approved by the military officials of the hospitals. They are for the most part volunteers, from the upper classes of society, who make regular visits to the hospitals and talk with the injured men. In some hospitals this work is done almost wholly by the doctors and nurses. Training classes have been held for the advisers in two cities, and the national committee has issued a pamphlet of "Guiding Principles" for their assistance. There were four hundred advisers in Berlin alone in January, 1917, which must surely have been an ample supply if ninety-seven per cent of the wounded are able to go back to military service. "Vocational urging," it has been said, rather than "vocational advice," is their function, for the principle of return to the former occupation or something as near to it as possible is insisted upon with unusual emphasis.

The national committee's pamphlet[1] includes many other

[1] Translation in appendix of publication of Red Cross Institute, Series I, No. 13.

sound principles: that in choosing a new occupation the effect on health must be considered; that the natural tendency toward the civil service should be discouraged, since those positions will be needed for their former incumbents, and since they hold no chance of advancement and men would not therefore long be satisfied with them; that men from rural districts should be dissuaded from settling in cities; that commercial pursuits should not be urged on men from other occupations; that, while cripples must be encouraged, their hopes must not be extravagantly raised; that vocational advice should not be confined to a single act; that it should be advice, not commands, and that to this end the man's own taste and inclinations should be taken into account, and he should be made to feel his responsibility in the matter; that friendly relations should be established with the cripple's family and with his other former connections; that there should be a close relation between the vocational work and the placement agency, and that placement should follow immediately upon discharge; finally, that the officers of the committee should be available in the years to come, for help in making readjustments that may prove to be required.

Reeducation, when that is necessary, or training for return to a former occupation, goes on contemporaneously with the medical treatment, while the man is still in the hospital. The importance of beginning as early as possible is recognized, and moreover there is a financial advantage in carrying on this work while the men are housed and supported at the expense of the army. The educational work is in the hands of the committee, but it must be approved by the military hospital director in the case of each man. When the man is discharged from the hospital he is sent to his reserve battalion to await discharge from the army and award of pension, and as he has generally been in a hospital in the same locality he may be able to go on with his course of training in case his physical improvement proceeds at a more rapid rate than his reeducation. Most of the civilian work for disabled men is done, as a matter of fact, while they are still under the authority of the army, either in the hospital

or in the reserve battalion. The effectiveness of this arrangement depends on the degree of cooperation between the hospital authorities and the local military commander, on the one hand, and the civilian committee and its representatives, on the other. If the relations are harmonious, for example, an informal understanding can be reached as to the time for dismissing a man from the hospital; but if the district commander happens to be one of the older and more conservative officers—as is not unlikely to be the case, since the younger and progressive men are needed for more active service—there may be difficulty in getting a sympathetic hearing for the economic problems of the permanently disabled. That there has been some friction is suggested by a decree of the War Department of December 27, 1916, directing "every possible support to the upbuilding and the intensive growth of the civilian cripple work."

Reeducation is provided in various ways: in the hospital workshops; in schools and institutions in the locality where the men can go daily while continuing their course of treatment; or in factories of the neighborhood, where they may be apprenticed. In a small town the usual practice is to admit the men to the regular classes in the trade school; in a place like Düsseldorf, where there are fifty military hospitals, the committee may take possession of an entire school and carry on its own courses of instruction; in other places, as in Nürnberg, the men may go to the city trade schools for theoretical classes, and get their practice in the hospital workshops. In the Brandenburg District seventeen factories had been opened to the men for training in 1917. The Kaiser Wilhelm Haus in Berlin is a special workshop for men still under treatment. It is devoted to the repairing of fire-arms. The men are of course still under medical régime. Their periods of work and of rest are carefully regulated, and they receive massage and other treatment in the factory, in the intervals of their employment. At first they work only two hours a day, gradually increasing to six. They are paid according to their output, and leave for positions in ordinary establishments as soon as possible. The ordinary period of stay in the

orthopedic hospital is from two to six months, and the reeducation courses are limited to six months. Obviously they can not often prepare a man for an entirely new occupation.

Although still soldiers the men are not under military discipline in the classes. As students they are treated as civilians. The hospital director gives them permission to attend school or to go out to a factory at certain hours, and exercises no authority over them during those periods. The teachers are drawn from many sources, but the greater part are civilian volunteers. There are some invalided officers assigned by the War Department, but more are school teachers, foremen designated by their employers for part time, craftsmen, and other representatives of civil life. There appears to be little difficulty with the men, and this may be due partly to the fact that the teachers and committee and vocational advisers are so generally of the superior or official classes, whom the men are accustomed to obey, though the promptness with which the reeducational work is begun, the patriotic appeal that is made, and the interest of the work as an incident in hospital life, probably are factors as well.

It is reported that in a large proportion of cases the men have little ambition. What most of them want is a subordinate civil service position, such as door keeper in a public building, and much effort is required to stimulate them into a different way of looking at the future. This is due in part to "pension psychosis," or "Renten-hysterie," as it is also called, the fear that their pension will be reduced if they show themselves capable of earning more than was the prospect at the time the pension was awarded. There is no foundation for this belief, though it is true that a pension may be revised because of a change in the degree of disability, and *Vorwaerts* did what it could to correct the impression long ago, but it is hard to eradicate. Another element in the general lack of ambition is the feeling that one has done enough and has earned the right to a tranquil and easy existence for the rest of life by months of hardship and exertion and pain and the loss of a leg or an arm. Persistent efforts are said to be necessary to combat this inertia.

Consistently with the principle of returning to the old occupation if possible, every effort is made to send back to the land all agricultural laborers. Several hundred of the hospitals have farms which are cultivated by the patients, and instruction in different branches of farming are provided by the ten regular agricultural schools. A brief account of an interesting undertaking near Graudenz, in East Prussia, is available.[1] The agricultural section of this training school was opened in May, 1916, with sixteen pupils. By December of the same year 110 had been trained. Admission was limited to men who had already had experence in agriculture, as owners or tenants or laborers, and the aim was to give them opportunity to recover their skill, to add to their technical knowledge, and to keep up their interest in their old work. A large state colonization property was used. The men were paid fifteen pfennigs per hour. Records were kept of the accomplishment of the disabled men in comparison with the able-bodied, and it was found, for example, that in hoeing sugar-beets the cripples could finish one-third of a *morgen* in ten hours, while an ordinary laborer could do from one-third to one-half of a *morgen* in the same length of time; that in work about the barns it took five cripples to do the work of three able-bodied men; that in the hay harvest the disabled did about as much on the average as the women. One man devised a special rake, with which he could make more furrows at a single stroke in the clover field. It was arranged that the men should have daily change of work, in order to give them variety in the motions required for their physical improvement. The long summer evenings were used for lectures and class instruction in theory.

It is worthy of notice that in the rigorous application of the principle that men should be fitted to return to their former occupation whenever possible, experience has shown that only very few, comparatively, even among the seriously disabled, are not able to go back to their old work, or to some similar or

[1] *Deutsche Landwirtschaftliche Presse*, December 23, 1916. Abstract in *The American Journal of Care for Cripples*, vol. V, page 175.

allied occupation. It follows, therefore, that for the great majority, the training given in the hospitals and the educational institutions is designed to increase efficiency—as, for example, in the agricultural school at Graudenz.

Special inducements are offered to students who are rendered unfit for military service to go back to the university and finish their course. The University of Berlin admits disabled *officers* to any courses they may wish to enter, without fees or any formalities of registration. In the interest of the educated invalids of war a society has been formed, the Deutsche Eiserne Kreuzverein, which has for its special object to build special convalescent homes where teachers, professional men, students, and others of the intellectual classes may find congenial surroundings and every help to complete recovery. Of these "there are many, for it has been the rule rather than the exception that the man of learning and intellectual attainments, the man who is a commander among men, is the one to grasp the big idea of the war and all that it means, and in his valor and enthusiasm give himself recklessly and freely to the great cause that he feels is his own, individually, as well as that of his beloved country."[1]

The blind constitute a special class among the disabled. Dr. Sjögren could not get any figures of the number of men who had lost their sight, on his visit in 1917, but he was told that eye wounds were much more frequent than in former wars, amounting to from five to eight per cent of all wounds. This is a larger proportion than is indicated for the British forces. There are special hospitals for the blind, where they receive the rudiments of their reeducation: first in importance and in point of time, how to get around without assistance; next, to read and write, the latter usually on the typewriter; and third, the beginnings of occupational training. The training for self-support is a much longer process for the blind than the crippled, and must be continued after leaving the hospital, if indeed the beginning of it is not postponed until then. Two years are con-

[1] Article in the *Osterreichischer Rundschau,* 1916, quoted in the *American Journal of Care for Cripples.* The project was entirely in the future.

sidered necessary to give a blind man a thorough mastery of a trade. In addition to the usual occupations for the blind, it has been found feasible for them to learn to operate certain safe machines. Great importance is attached to supplying artificial eyes promptly when they are needed, because of the effect on the spirits, as well as because better results can be secured if they are fitted as soon as the wound is sufficiently healed to allow it. Much progress has been made in the manufacture of artificial eyes since the beginning of the war, and we are told that an astonishing degree of perfection has been reached. When the blind man knows that his appearance is not merely not repulsive, but even natural, the first great battle is won toward his return to self-confidence and thence to content and usefulness.

Marked progress has been made also in the artificial limbs. Even before the war, German and Austrian models ranked with American in the world market, but so many improvements have been made that they are now said to be "wholly out of date." Dr. Mayer points out that until the present war the trade had been handed down from one master to another with little change, and in particular "the advances of modern engineering had not been applied to this . . . phase of mechanical work." Many of the new appliances have been suggested by the engineer. The German Society of Engineers offered a large prize for the best artificial hand and arm, and established a station for testing the devices which were submitted. One of the most successful inventions is a hand devised by an untrained peasant, August Keller, which Dr. Mayer thinks is unquestionably the best prosthesis yet devised for the farmer. Some of the hospitals, at least, though it may not be the rule, make their own braces and other appliances, employing the patients for this work, under a master-workman with two or three apprentices. The advantages of this arrangement are obvious. The work can be done under the eye of the surgeon, instead of being left entirely to the brace-maker. It provides an occupation in which the men take a keen personal interest. Furthermore, it is of extreme practical value to the men to learn enough about the work to be able to repair

their own apparatus, even if they do not engage in it as a trade. Professor Spitzy, in the great Vienna hospital, does not allow an amputated soldier to be discharged until he has served at least four weeks in the department where artificial limbs are made and has earned a certificate that he can repair his own apparatus. Another practical consideration is the inadequacy of the supply of apparatus from ordinary sources, in comparison with present and future needs, unless measures are taken to increase the number of men who know the trade.

No standard patterns are prescribed by the government. Each orthopedist is free to select from among all the models on the market, within the prices allowed by the War Department. The German theory about an artificial limb is that it "should reproduce not the lost limb, but the lost function," that it should be "not an imitation arm or leg, but a tool." The "Sunday arm" is supplied only to clerical workers, and to them only on special request.

Placement

Thus far, it is usually said, there has been no difficulty for the disabled man to find employment. The Committees for the Care of Cripples are the intermediary for those who need help in this. Their practice seems to be to try first the former employer; if for any reason he can not take the man back, he is referred to another agency, generally the public employment exchange, but some of the committees conduct their own employment bureaus.

Many government positions are open to the disabled soldiers, and they have the preference over able-bodied applicants of similar qualifications. It is understood, for example, that all future vacancies in the post offices of rural districts are to be reserved for war cripples who wish to settle on the land. Employers have been for the most part extremely cooperative, many associations going on record as in favor of employing disabled soldiers in any position where they can be used. Manufacturers, merchants, miners, have been ready to give them work. "The

different trades open to them are too many to enumerate." The director of one of the special hospitals for one-armed men has drawn up a list of a hundred occupations suitable for them. Handicraft workers whose standards are protected by a guild system established by law are notably cordial to the reeducation and reemployment of the men disabled in the war, and they have even undertaken an active propaganda to urge them to become master-workmen. The unions of machine workers are less favorable. They complain that labor is not sufficiently represented on the committees, that the care of cripples is too much a class affair, and the socialist unions especially demand centralized government control and responsibility.

There are no statistics to show to what extent the disabled are reabsorbed into the normal industrial life of the nation. Statements that the difficulty of placing cripples is "lessening" suggest more serious obstacles than have usually been admitted. A report of the committee of the Rhine provinces in June, 1917, states that out of 927 applicants for employment 231 were "permanently unfit" for work, 395 "temporarily unfit," 92 "work shy," and 209 "willing to work," which does not give the impression of complete and rapid absorption. There are some complaints, moreover, that in certain districts helpless cripples, with no ability and no desire to do anything to help themselves, are numerous and burdensome.

That success in placing disabled men, in so far as there has been success, is due in some measure at least to the scarcity of labor can not be doubted, and there are some voices raised in warning that "things will be different after the war, when upon the return current of healthy workers with full working powers, war cripples will have to compete with sound men in the daily struggle for existence."

The question of wages for the man who is not able to do full work has of course been discussed. The unions have urged that arbitration boards be established in each trade, to fix the wages of each individual cripple employed, and ten or twelve such boards have been established in Berlin and elsewhere.

Questions arising in connection with accident insurance have also received consideration, but no definite action has been taken. The Director of the Imperial Insurance Office proposes simply increased watchfulness to prevent accidents. Employers, in their liberal attitude dictated by patriotism and the scarcity of labor, have not urged the increased risk as a reason against employing crippled men. There is a provision in the Insurance Law that if a man's working capacity is permanently lessened and he is in receipt of public relief he may work without being insured, and this has been invoked to a certain extent in behalf of war cripples in receipt of a pension, but the Prussian Minister of Commerce and Industry has warned against too wide an application of the clause. There has been some discussion about the status of men still in the hospitals who go out to work in the factories of the neighborhood, and it has been decided by the Prussian Minister of War that in such cases the work is to be regarded as an element in their medical treatment and that insurance is not necessary. In Westphalia, however, the Committee for the Care of Cripples arranged with an insurance company to cover such cases.

Colonization

Proposals for establishing colonies of disabled soldiers have not been lacking, especially at the opening of the war, in connection with the great newspaper demand for homes. One of the most elaborate and most alluring comes from the Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, embodied in a beautiful volume full of well marshaled argument and artistic illustrations.[1]

A cooperative "garden city" of incapacitated ex-soldiers, with separate dwellings for the families and congregate homes for bachelors; with good schools, facilities for normal social intercourse, home industries freed from the objection of the sweating system, individual gardens, and all the rest of the seductive

[1] Reviewed by Bruno Lasker, with reproduction of some of the plans and architect's drawings, in *The Survey*, April 1, 1916 (vol. XXXVII, page 27).

paraphernalia of such schemes, is urged as a better way of discharging the national debt of gratitude to the wounded heroes.

Colonization in groups, however, is not favored by those who know most about cripples, either in Germany or elsewhere. Reabsorption into normal community life, not segregation, is the ideal. Warriors' Homes are condemned as emphatically by Dr. Wurtz, in the book quoted above, as they were by the Sanitary Commission in the United States at the time of the Civil War, and apparently by much the same reasoning. They are "not in accordance with the German character." Even for the seriously disabled who have no homes of their own, it is better to board them in families than to provide for them in permanent institutions. A joint proclamation of several of the cabinet officers early in the war (quoted by Dr. Wurtz) cautions against placing confidence in new societies without experience in colonization or land problems which may spring up to promote agricultural colonies of war cripples. Colonization by individuals, however, in suitable cases, is strongly favored, and, as we have seen, is facilitated by the state. A mere taste for country life—which is common among disabled European soldiers, probably because it looks like a peaceful and easy method of existence—is not considered sufficient to constitute presumptive evidence of future success. Previous experience in agriculture is generally agreed to be an essential condition.

Education of the Public

A considerable effort has been expended in the propaganda of the principles adopted at the beginning of the war. The Zeitschrift für Krüppelfürsorge, the organ of the Vereinigung which existed before the war, has been devoted largely to problems of war cripples since 1914. The Reichsausschuss publishes a periodical, as well as the special reports and pamphlets to which reference has been made. The local committees frequently issue publications for their own special purposes. Many individual magazine articles, pamphlets, and even books have appeared, and there has been discussion of methods and theories in the

newspapers. Exhibits of the accomplishments of cripples and of the equipment of the hospitals have been held all over the empire.

Distinctive Features in Austria-Hungary

From the information which is available in regard to Austria-Hungary it may be inferred that the general principles on which the work is carried on are not very different from those of Germany,[1] and that the improved methods devised in either country are at the service of the other. The Vienna institutions under the direction of Dr. Spitzy, and the school founded by Count Zichy, a one-armed Hungarian gentleman, of which a one-armed architect is principal, are frequently referred to with great admiration.

The only distinctive feature in Austria which has come to our notice is the establishment by the government of a special employment bureau for war cripples, the Arbeitsvermittlung für Kriegsinvaliden, in the Ministry of the Interior, with branches in the offices of the provincial and district authorities. A similar bureau, the Invalidenamt, has been established by the Royal Government of Hungary.[2] This policy is in contrast to that adopted by the other important countries, which have decided against setting up any special agency for the placement of their disabled men considering it more advantageous to rely on the general labor exchanges already in existence.

Popular Criticism

No system ever works as smoothly as the most conscientious description seems to imply—not even in Prussia—and it is not surprising to find indications of dissatisfaction. It is perhaps not surprising to find that the dissatisfaction is directed chiefly against the lack of a central authority to coordinate all parts of the

[1] See, for example, Dr. Wurtz's statement that the same program was inaugurated in the dual monarchy as in Germany.

[2] *Neue Badische Landeszeitung,* July 27, 1917, quoted in *The American Journal of Care for Cripples,* vol. V, page 172.

work, and the comparatively unofficial character of the Kriegsbeschädigten-fürsorgestelle. There are protests also against some of the principles on which reeducation is based; many complaints of individual hardship; and, as has been noticed in connection with the section on pensions, there is a very general dissatisfaction with the rates of pensions and the way in which they are awarded. A petition demanding revision was prepared for the Reichstag last year. A German War Cripples' Union was organized in June, 1916, with many branches, and other associations have been formed to protect the interests of their members.

A spirited protest against the underlying principles of the work for cripples was printed in *Vorwaerts* for July 27, 1917. The writer objects to the "dogma" that will power can and must overcome all obstacles, on the ground that there are many among the disabled soldiers so psychically injured (Desorientierten) that it is unreasonable to expect them to regain normal will power until long after the war, if ever. He protests equally against the idea that the men should go back to their old occupations, because, he argues, this should be an opportunity for discovering intellectual excellence and giving it a chance, instead of merely sustaining old class distinctions. "It is generally known that tremendous intellectual powers slumber in the 'masses,' . . . only waiting for an awakening touch. Ought it not to be the chief duty of vocational counselors to test the intellectual qualifications of the men from the lower classes . . . and if they find unsuspected abilities among them to direct them toward a new and worthy intellectual pursuit?"

A deputy in the Reichstag, writing in the *Volkszeitung* of Kiel, expresses the current dissatisfaction with the administrative organization of the work as follows:[1]

> The recent suggestion to solicit public contributions so as to discharge, or at least supplement, the country's obligations to her war victims, aroused among the people a unanimous wave of opposition. Bitter resentment filled

[1] July 23, 1917. Quoted in *The American Journal of Care for Cripples,* vol. V, page 171.

the hearts of the wounded soldiers. For we are not taking the most necessary step to safeguard the interests of war cripples, in that we have not founded an officially directed welfare organization with sufficient initiative, influence, and authority. We have been tinkering at an organization of this type ever since February, 1915, but at the present rate of progress war might well continue for ten years before we shall have established a really complete network of welfare organizations resting on universal cooperation—the only guarantee of success. The principle is generally acknowledged, but its execution is far to seek.

Practically every village in, say, the Province of Brandenburg, flourishes a shingle with a red eagle and the inscription "Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorgestelle," but in most cases the posting of the decorative placard is as far as the work of the welfare bureau goes. Things are no better in most of the other provinces.

The Reichsausschuss für Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge has provided for the task in question a great working program on thoroughly commendable basic principles. All of these presuppose the cooperation of an extensive circle of agencies. But the mass of the people, and most particularly the war cripples themselves, can place their confidence in this organization only if all the industries work together and the labor interests are adequately represented.

. . . . . .

Local welfare bureaus are still frequently under the direction of individuals. This is . . . an intolerable situation.

The War Office issued a decree in April providing for the draft for auxiliary service of war cripples unfitted for military duties. According to this decree the drafting committees will in each case have to report to the local committee of the official civil war cripples' welfare bureau. The local committee will in at least two weeks' time have to report whether the war cripple is fit for duty, or whether he has found employment in a position which does not satisfy the requirements of the auxiliary service law. This decree assigns to the local committees a duty that will be of the most vital importance to war cripples. . . . Upon them alone rests the decision whether or not a war cripple is to give up a position, . . . possibly even a permanent place, in favor of some occupation of military importance that happens to be in need of labor. The man himself has no choice in the matter. This all the more urgently necessitates the election of representatives of workingmen's and employers' organizations to the local boards. . . .

. . . We must have guarantees prohibiting the placing of men's careers in the hands of individuals. This deplorable state of affairs was made possible first of all by the opposition of the subprefects, and then by the incredible indifference of men in high government positions who have not yet succeeded in making federal regulations after fully three years of war. It will, therefore, be necessary to publish the names and addresses of labor representatives in the membership of committees on the auxiliary service law, so as to enable war cripples to obtain this slight support in representa-

tion of their interests. But it would be more promising and more to the purpose if the War Office exerted sufficient pressure in behalf of a movement to organize the local committees for welfare work which are assumed by its decree, as agents for the administration of the auxiliary service law, so as to assure to workingmen due protection of their interests.

Newspaper protests and demands of associations of veterans do not give a basis for an estimate of the value of the work that is being done for disabled men, but they indicate at least a degree of dissatisfaction that is not apparent in the countries of the Allies, and raise questions as to whether the percentage of efficiency is as high as some reports would seem to claim. Pensions undoubtedly are low and inadequate; if in addition many men are not pensioned at all, on the ground of technicalities, as is charged, there must be widespread discontent. Probably the surgical work, including the functional reeducation, has reached a high degree of perfection; it may be that the proportion who are completely restored is higher than in other countries. It is less likely that the work of vocational guidance and reeducation and placement are as efficiently carried on. Notwithstanding the devotion and capability of the leaders, a system depending so largely on voluntary cooperation and mutual understanding seems too foreign to the German nature to have an unqualified success.

CHAPTER VIII

The United States

Entering the war on April 6, 1917, the United States had the advantage of nearly three years of experimentation by the other belligerents, as well as a long period of mental preparation, in her work for disabled soldiers and sailors. Furthermore, not being obliged to precipitate troops into the fighting lines, we could count on several months more, at least, before men disabled in battle would be coming back to America. By the time the first casualty among Pershing's troops was reported in the newspapers—a right hand injured while its owner, with characteristic Yankee curiosity, was investigating a bomb to see how it worked—a bill had been drafted providing for compensation and insurance, and private organizations, as well as the medical departments of the army and of the navy, were making plans for the reeducation and reestablishment of the men who should be disabled.

Physical Restoration[1]

For physical restoration—the first and most important part of the work of reinstating the disabled soldier or sailor—responsibility rests naturally with the Surgeons General of the army and of the navy. Preparations for the care of the wounded were begun long ago, and among them plans for the "reconstruction" of the maimed and mutilated and the otherwise disabled had a prominent place.

A Division of Reconstruction was organized in the Medical Department of the army in August, 1917, with Dr. (now Colonel) Frank Billings, of Chicago, as director. Associated with Colonel Billings on the "Reconstruction Staff" are other well

[1] The policy and plans of the War Department are described in the statement made by Colonel Billings before the Joint Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate and the House of Representatives on May 1, 1918; in brief articles by Colonel Billings, Lieut. Col. Mock, and Major Price, in *Carry On* for August, 1918; and in the *Official Bulletin* of May 2, 1918.

known medical men drawn from civil life, and also educators, architects, and other specialists neither medical nor military, including the dean of Teachers College, Columbia University, as director of the Educational Section, and a woman as supervisor of "physiotherapy aides." The use of mental and manual work as a therapeutic agency was contemplated from the beginning, and it was the idea of the Surgeon General, as Colonel Billings explained it, that the occupational therapy, instead of being "footless," as it too frequently is, "should be purposeful in its character and worth something." It seems to have been understood that full authority to make it even so purposeful as to amount to "vocational reeducation" was conferred by the paragraph in Section 27 (Enlistments in the Regular Army) of the National Defense Act of 1916 which provides that

> In addition to military training, soldiers while in the active service shall hereafter be given the opportunity to study and receive instruction upon educational lines of such character as to increase their military efficiency and enable them to return to civil life better equipped for industrial, commercial, and general business occupations. Civilian teachers may be employed to aid the army officers in giving such instruction, and part of this instruction may consist of vocational education either in agriculture or the mechanic arts. The Secretary of War, with the approval of the President, shall prescribe rules and regulations for conducting the instruction herein provided for, and the Secretary of War shall have power at all times to suspend, increase, or decrease the amount of such instruction offered as may in his judgment be consistent with the requirements of military instruction and service of the soldiers.

With respect to the extent of responsibility assumed for disabled soldiers by the military authorities, the policy recommended by the Surgeon General and approved by the War Department early in April, 1918, was stated as follows:

> That hereafter no member of the military service disabled in line of duty, even though not expected to return to duty, will be discharged from service until he has attained complete recovery or as complete recovery as it is to be expected that he will attain when the nature of his disability is considered. The inauguration of this continued treatment will result, during the period of the war, in the saving to the service of a large number of efficient officers and soldiers who without it would never become able to perform duty.
>
> Physical reconstruction may be defined as the completest form of medical and surgical treatment carried to the point where maximum functional

restoration, mental and physical, has been secured. To secure this result the use of work, mental and manual, will be required during the convalescent period. This therapeutic measure, in addition to aiding greatly in shortening the convalescent period, retains or arouses mental activities, preventing "hospitalization," and enables the patient to be returned to service or civil life with the full realization that he can work in his handicapped state, and with habits of industry much encouraged if not firmly formed.

Receiving and distributing stations have been organized at Ellis Island, in New York harbor, and at Newport News, with a trained personnel to classify and assign disabled soldiers, as they arrive from abroad, to the appropriate hospitals; and division surgeons in the cantonments have been ordered to report to the Surgeon General's office each case under their care in which there is a possibility of improvement by means of the treatment provided in the specially equipped hospitals. Certain of the general military hospitals were chosen for beginning the reconstruction work, and by April, 1918, fourteen had been so designated. At each one special buildings have been, or will be, equipped for physiotherapy, including hydrotherapy, electrotherapy, and mecanotherapy, and for "curative workshops." Arrangements are also made for ward work for patients not able to go to the shops, and for indoor play, outdoor games, drills, and setting-up exercises. Gardening and the other usual forms of farm work are also available.

Each of these hospitals is equipped, either throughout or as to one or more wards, to care for one or more specialties. The insane, for example, are sent to General Hospital Number 4, at Fort Porter, New York; the blind and deaf to Number 7, at Roland Park, Baltimore; epileptics and neurotics to Number 13, at Dansville, New York; and special provision for amputations is made at Walter Reed and Letterman Hospitals, in Washington and San Francisco. For the treatment of tuberculosis several sanatoria are now available or are under construction.

This use of the general hospitals is only for the present. To meet the heavier demands which are expected later on, it is planned to establish sixteen great reconstruction hospitals, one in each of the sixteen military districts of the country. Each

one will accommodate from one to three thousand patients or more, and each "will be fitted to the last detail for the extended treatment of every known case of disability caused by wounds, gas, liquid fire, and disease." If this plan is carried out, soldiers returning to America for further treatment will be sent to the reconstruction center in their own military district—which would ordinarily be the one nearest their home—and there they will find a building or ward devoted to their special disability, whatever it may be. This, however, is in the future.

An educational officer is assigned to each hospital where reconstruction work is carried on. His functions are "to arrange for and supervise, under the direction of the commanding officer of the hospital, the means provided for the therapeutic work, such as curative workshops, classes, etc.; to act as technical adviser to the commanding officer on this subject; to recommend the development of necessary means to keep patients employed so far as it is possible to do so; . . . and to have immediate charge of any special training of a vocational nature which can be given with the means at hand." They are to be chosen "for their training, experience and peculiar fitness for the work," and it was anticipated that disabled soldiers who have completed their treatment and retraining will frequently be eligible for the position. Teachers for many of the classes are found among the patients.

"Reconstruction aides"—teachers of "bedside occupations" and specially trained masseurs—are another element in the staff of these hospitals. "By the employment of educational officers and reconstruction aides," says the Surgeon General's recommendation, "it is expected to develop to the highest point the therapeutic work and it is expected not only to hasten the recovery of the patients but that an environment will be created in military hospitals which, while in no way relaxing the necessary discipline, will greatly promote contentment and make the atmosphere of these hospitals such that the time spent in convalescence will pass most pleasantly because the minds and hands of the patients are properly occupied in profitable pursuits."

As there are comparatively few persons qualified to do the kind of teaching required of reconstruction aides, one of the first steps has been to provide courses of instruction for them. Two courses were offered in New York City in the summer of 1918, with the approval of the Surgeon General's office, under the auspices of a committee of New York women: one for women already acquainted with one or more handicrafts and with the elements of design and color; the other a longer course, for those without previous knowledge of these subjects. The instruction included lectures by medical experts on what might be called the psychology of convalescence and on hygiene and hospital methods and etiquette, and practice teaching in hospitals was an essential feature of the course. Smith College, in co-operation with the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, offered two months' academic training for aides in psychiatric work, who would then be sent to a hospital or clinic for six months' case work to complete their course. Other institutions announce courses to open in the fall.

To create the "right mental attitude" on the part of the disabled man and on the part of the public is considered by the Medical Department of the army a legitimate and essential feature of its work of "reconstruction"—one, moreover, which does not await the return of the man to America. A corps of "cheer-up men" is planned, men who are themselves crippled in some way but who have succeeded in overcoming their handicap, to be attached to the base hospitals abroad and to the hospital ships that bring the soldiers home, as well as to the general and reconstruction hospitals in America. A book called *The Way Out,* consisting of letters from successful disabled men, full of cheer and comfort, will be distributed in the hospitals in Europe. Motion pictures showing "the way out" have been made and are already in use. A little magazine which is as different as possible from the ordinary publication of a department of the government of the United States, is "edited by the Office of the Surgeon General, U. S. Army," and "published for the Surgeon General by the American Red Cross," for circulation among

"those who are interested in the reconstruction of our disabled soldiers and sailors." It is sent without charge for a year to anyone who asks to be placed on the mailing list, and the second number announces that "many thousands of requests" had already been received.

This little periodical, issued by what we are accustomed to regard as the most formal of the branches of our government, is called *Carry On.* Its cover bears as an emblem a lusty green acorn on a blue field, selected as "typifying the idea of expansion and lasting strength." It opens with the following message:

> The Medical Department of the army will *"Carry On"* in the medical and training treatment of the disabled soldier until he is cured or as nearly cured as his disabilities permit. We shall try to do our part in his restoration to health efficiently, with the belief that the wounded and sick soldier shall have the opportunity to return to civil life capable of pursuing a career of usefulness. This will enable him to enjoy the freedom and happiness afforded by worldwide democracy for which he has given his all.
>
> (Signed), W. C. Gorgas,
> *Surgeon General, U. S. Army.*

Inside are short articles of encouragement and inspiration from men and women of letters and affairs; official statements of plans from the Division of Reconstruction, the Red Cross, and others concerned with the future of the disabled soldiers; an unaffected statement from the first of our soldiers to be blinded in the present war, who is "trying hard to learn to write on a typewriter" and brush up on his "English and spelling and things" at Roland Park, because "they" had sent for his girl to come down to see him and she had said, "Bill, if you make good I am going to marry you." There is a cartoon by Briggs—"When a Feller Needs a Friend"—showing a be-medaled hero dashing from the ship down the road "To a Job," pursued by a Committee of Welcome, throwing bouquets of roses and holding out programs for his entertainment, invitations to lecture, and other undesired attentions. There are many pictures, including some of the illustrations for *Don Quixote* drawn by Daniel Vierge with his left hand after his right side was paralyzed, and photographs of American boys at Walter Reed Hospital, Fort

McHenry, and other places—gardening, learning telegraphy, working on an automobile, practicing writing with the left hand, and a class of negroes learning to read. It is a publication which ought to be helpful to cripples and ought also to contribute to what one of the writers calls the "reconstruction of the public" in its ideas about the handicapped.

Unfortunately, this admirable program of the War Department took time to get under way. The liberal policy in regard to keeping a man in the care of the army until he is as nearly cured as he can be was not adopted until the spring of 1918. The organization for reconstruction was not established until men had already been discharged from camps in this country, and "some had come from overseas, even before anyone was ready for them, and had been discharged from the army, much to the regret of the Surgeon General that they should have been allowed to go in that condition."

Compensation and Insurance

There had been much discussion through the spring and early summer of 1917, especially after conscription was decided upon, about the policy which should be adopted with reference to the needs of soldiers and their families while the men were in service and in case of death or disability. The Secretary of the Treasury was considering the possibility of wholesale insurance, on the analogy of the Simmons law, which enabled the government to compel shipowners to insure the lives of their crews. The Children's Bureau of the federal Department of Labor had promptly begun a study of child welfare in the warring countries, and as a part of this study had engaged Mr. (now Lt. Col.) S. Herbert Wolfe, an actuary of New York City, to make a report on the Canadian system for the care of soldiers and their dependents, and later on the existing governmental provisions in the United States and foreign countries. The National Conference of Charities and Correction, at its meeting early in June, had devoted part of its program to provisions for disabled soldiers and sailors, and much of its informal discussion in lobbies and at

luncheons to this and related questions. The Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense appointed in June a subcommittee to draft a tentative bill dealing with all these matters.

It was this committee, acting in cooperation with the Department of the Treasury, and with the help of representatives of all the other departments interested and of many private organizations which were in a position to aid, which was responsible for the bill introduced in both houses of Congress early in August. Hon. Julian W. Mack, of Chicago, a judge of the United States Circuit Court, and closely identified with many branches of social work, was chairman of the committee. His "splendid, uncompensated, zealous work," through the hot weeks of July and August, excited unstinted admiration in the hearts of appreciative Congressmen: "Instead of taking the usual summer vacation, and without money, without compensation, without hope of winning any office thereby." Judge Mack himself disclaimed the credit which was attached to him, explaining on one occasion, for example: [1]

> It is not my law at all; I was only one of many. . . . A great many had a larger or smaller share in the work; it is no one man's law, and no one man's name ought ever to be associated with a law of this kind. It is the soldiers' and sailors' compensation and insurance act. It is for them, and every one of us who has had anything to do with it wants to have his individuality sunk and his connection with it forgotten, so that the fact that it is for the soldiers and sailors may always be remembered.

To the more prosaic-minded historian, however, it is of interest to know that Secretary McAdoo called in conference representatives of the leading insurance companies and public officials from the Departments of War, Navy, Commerce, and Labor, as well as the director of the War Risk Insurance Bureau in the Treasury Department, the chairman of the advisory committee of that bureau, and Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Judge Mack's advisers included representatives

[1] At a conference of representatives of the army and navy, October 16, 1917. Proceedings published as Bulletin No. 3 of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance.

of labor, economists, lawyers, social workers, experts in social legislation, and the staff of the Legislative Drafting Bureau of Columbia University. With all this, however, Congress was not satisfied: for the Pension Bureau had apparently been ignored. "You have taken philanthropists, God bless them, accident insurance and life insurance actuaries. You have not consulted the men that know about pensions."

The spirit which actuated the new legislation was first of all the burning desire to do the right thing by the "brave soldiers" who are "fighting the battles of their country," and by their "loved ones" left at home. That is the way Congress put it. Secretary McAdoo, in his letter of July 31, 1917, to President Wilson, expresses it with more sophistication:

> The bill which I am submitting to you is intended to meet those essential and fundamental principles of justice which you have so much at heart. Its main purpose is to grant a reasonable government indemnity against the losses and risks incurred in the discharge of a patriotic duty and in the performance of an extraordinarily hazardous service to which the government has called and forced the citizen. It provides not only for the man but for his family.

Judge Mack explained it as follows to the conference of army and navy officers in October:

> The underlying purpose was to grant a measure of justice to the fighting forces on behalf of the whole people, and, secondly, in granting that measure of justice to do it in a way that would hearten the men by freeing them of the one great dread that every man has. Men who go out to battle, even though they are not in the slightest degree physical cowards, may have a fear of what may befall them. But that isn't the real fear that confronts most of them. The real terror for men is that their families may suffer or become objects of charity. That fear the government aims to dispel by letting the men know in advance that their families are not going to become objects of charity; that while, of course, the government can not keep each one of them in the comfortable situation in which many of you men maintain your families, it can and it will at least do this: It will save them from abject poverty—save them from having to go out and ask others for the necessities of life.

When it came to the point of deciding how this general desire to be both just and generous to soldiers and sailors and their

families should take expression, there were two dominating ideas. Among the framers of the bill the theory prevailed that this legislation should follow the analogy of workmen's compensation laws: that the soldier is in the position of an employe in an extra-hazardous occupation and that the government is the employer; and that the cost of deaths and injuries should be "borne by the industry," that is, by the whole nation, through the national government. This picturesque statement caught the fancy, and the term "compensation" is the one used in the law. In Congress, on the other hand, it was the American tradition and policy as to pensions that dominated, inclining men for or against the bill according as they saw in it provisions more or less generous than those of the existing pension laws and practice. The law as finally enacted bears the marks of the struggle between these two ideas.

Existing Provisions for Disability

Disability pensions, as we have seen in Chapter II, have been the rule in America since the earliest days of the colonies. A tariff for specified injuries was established as long ago as 1864, and this principle has been retained ever since, the classification having been extended and the rates increased from time to time. The rates of the monthly pension for injuries provided for by law, as they stood in 1917, were as follows: [1]

Loss of both hands or both feet, and loss of sight, including loss of sight of one eye if the other had previously been lost	$100.00
"Disability requiring regular aid and attendance"	72.00
Loss of, or total disability in, one hand and one foot	60.00
Loss of a leg at the hip joint, or of an arm at the shoulder joint, or so near as to prevent the use of an artificial limb	55.00
"Disability requiring frequent and periodical but not constant aid and attendance"	50.00
Loss of an arm at or above the elbow or of a leg at or above the knee, or total disability in arm or leg	46.00
Total disability in, or loss of, one hand or one foot; total deafness	40.00
"Incapacity to perform manual labor"	30.00
"Disability equivalent to the loss of a hand or a foot"	24.00

[1] *Governmental Provisions in the United States and Foreign Countries for Members of the Military Forces and Their Dependents.* By Captain S. Herbert Wolfe, Q. M., U. S. R. Children's Bureau Publication, No. 28, pages 215-216.

For minor disabilities rates have been fixed by administrative ruling, varying from two to twenty-seven dollars, but subject to the proviso of the law that no pension shall be less than six dollars per month.[1] The administrative rulings seem more consistent, on the whole, than the resultants of a dozen or so different laws, but it is surprising to find that the loss of the index finger is rated lower than the loss of the great toe.

In addition to pensions, disabled soldiers were entitled to a new artificial limb every three years, or a certain sum in commutation, the money being chosen in about ninety-nine per cent of the cases. Furthermore, preference has been given to disabled veterans ever since the Civil War in appointments in the civil service, and this practice of Prussian origin has become very dear to Americans. The present Commissioner of Pensions, it was pointed out in the House debates, had had "a long and faithful experience" in the Civil War.

For officers and enlisted men of the regular establishment —army, navy, marine corps, and coast guard—a retirement system was in force. Those retired on account of disability received in service were entitled to retirement pay for the rest of their lives, equivalent in general to three-fourths of their active pay. Enlisted men, however, except in the coast guard, were eligible for retirement only after thirty years of service.[2]

The New Legislation

The act of October 6, 1917, providing for family allowances, indemnities, and insurance for the military and naval forces of the United States, is a part of the body of law now designated officially as the War Risk Insurance Act. It came into existence under the cumbersome title: "An Act to amend an Act entitled 'An Act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department,' approved September second, nineteen hundred and fourteen, and for other purposes."

[1] A complete list is given in Captain Wolfe's report, page 217.
[2] Captain Wolfe's report, pages 15-17, 219-227.

The Bureau of War Risk Insurance which is referred to in this title had been created at the outbreak of the war to provide insurance for American vessels and cargoes at rates which private companies could not afford; in other words, to subsidize American shipping to this extent. In June, 1917, the same principle was extended to insurance for the master, officers, and crew of merchant vessels under the American flag.

This bureau, already in operation in the Treasury Department, seemed to the authors of the bill a logical place to put the administration of the insurance feature of the new legislation for soldiers and sailors, although there might easily be, and was, difference of opinion as to the propriety of entrusting to it the compensation section, and still more the section dealing with allotments and allowances. It was suggested in the House that there was danger that the Treasury Department might become "so strong politically that it will overshadow Congress and every other department of the government." The difficulty, however, of finding any other one existing branch of the government which would be more suitable for the four purposes of the act, and the admitted desirability of keeping them all together, outweighed objections. To set up machinery for these purposes in the War Department would have necessitated duplicating it in the Navy Department. The Children's Bureau might have been a natural place if all the soldiers had children, but as many have none, there would have had to be parallel arrangements for them in some other department. The Pension Bureau was thought not to be equipped for handling insurance or allotments and allowances, and even the compensation feature of the new legislation, involving as it does investigation into family circumstances, was considered entirely foreign to its experience, confined as that had been to consideration of records. It was felt by many, moreover, that there would be an advantage in emphasizing the distinction between the measures adopted for the present war and the older pension legislation, much of which has acquired an unsavory reputation. Although this position was resented by many members of Congress, administration of

the law was allowed to rest where it had been placed by those who drafted the bill—in the Bureau of War Risk Insurance.

This new, comprehensive, and important legislation for the members of the military and naval forces of the United States—legislation which will affect the lives of hundreds of thousands, even millions, of Americans for forty or fifty years, and which will be an influential factor in determining the standard of living of the next two generations—came into existence, through the exigencies of legislation, as an omnibus amendment to an older act, and under a title which conveys little idea of the nature of its provisions.

By the act of October 6, 1917, two divisions were created in the Bureau of War Risk Insurance: (1) a Division of Marine and Seaman's Insurance, in charge of the original functions of the bureau; and (2) a Division of Military and Naval Insurance, to which was confided the administration of the provisions affecting soldiers and sailors and their families. A commissioner for each division, at a salary of four thousand dollars, was provided, in addition to the director of the bureau, whose salary is five thousand.

With the first division we are not concerned, nor with all of the work of the second, for it administers the whole system of payments, and not merely those affecting disabled men.

The system established consists of the following features:

(1) Compulsory allotment of part pay by all enlisted men who have dependent relatives within certain specified degrees of relationship; and a family allowance by the government, in amount depending on the number of dependents but not exceeding $50 per month, issued upon the written application of the enlisted man or of or in behalf of one of the prospective beneficiaries. Officers are not included, on the theory that their pay enables them to make provision for their families and that the general morale would compel them to do so.

(2) Compensation for death or disability resulting from personal injury suffered or disease contracted in the line of duty, by any commissioned officer or enlisted man or by any nurse in the army or navy nurse corps; such compensation to be based on the extent of the injury and the number and relationship of dependents.

(3) Insurance against death or total permanent disability, at "peace rates,"

and even a little less, for any one who would be entitled to compensation, up to a maximum of $10,000, the government contributing the excess cost above the premiums paid by the men.

(4) Compulsory reeducation "in cases of dismemberment, of injuries to sight or hearing, and of other injuries commonly causing permanent disability." Although this provision appeared as a paragraph in Article III, Compensation for Death and Disability, it was logically coordinate with the other three elements of the system. It was later repealed.

With the allotments and allowances to families we are not concerned. The other three features of the law, however, affect disabled men.

The discussions on the measure in both houses of Congress were of exceptional interest and of great length. In the House of Representatives the bill was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce—which made some members "pretty raw," since they thought the proper committee to consider it was the Committee on Pensions, or else the Committee on Naval Affairs *or* the Committee on Military Affairs. In the Senate it went to the Committee on Finance. The hearings before the House committee fill 180 closely printed pages; the one before the Senate's subcommittee lasted all day, and fills 94 pages. The discussion in the House continued through the greater part of six days, notwithstanding the pressure of many other important measures. Midway in this discussion the chairman of the committee, evidently thinking that a vote would not be premature, urged that already enough questions had been answered "to educate a university."

Compensation

The provisions for compensation, in Article III, supplemented by the provisions for voluntary insurance in Article IV, were intended by the framers of the bill as a substitute for pensions, and it was the aim "to create so fair, liberal, and satisfactory a system of meeting every just claim impersonally and as a matter of right that it will be practically impossible for any future Congress to consider a private pension bill and highly improbable that any soldier or his dependents would seek any other remedy

than that provided for under this war compensation act.."[1] By the time the bill had passed through Congress, however, less emphasis was placed upon the "compensation" character of the measure, even by those who had been most insistent on it at the outset, and we find Judge Mack saying, in the conference already mentioned (page 322), that "compensation is very much like the present pensions, except in the fundamental underlying thought."

As a matter of fact, the provisions for compensation for disability in the new law do not differ from the pensions for disability which we have had ever since 1864 except in one particular, and in that respect they differ also from workmen's compensation for injuries. The old pensions for disability were based upon the nature of the injury, as is compensation. The new element which is introduced, and which also distinguishes this compensation from ordinary industrial compensation, is that the amount of the compensation varies with the number of dependents, as well as with the extent of the disability. In the bill as originally introduced, a third variable was contemplated—the pay of the man—and this would have helped to preserve the analogy to workmen's compensation, though only superficially. It was strongly urged by the American Association for Labor Legislation and other enthusiasts for the industrial precedent that the amount should be proportioned to the pay of the man in the service, with a certain minimum prescribed by the law. Congress argued, however, that there would be only a specious and academic sort of justice in applying that principle to our present army, made up almost entirely of recent volunteers and conscripts, whose army pay bears no relation to their earning capacity in civil life, and among whom privates frequently make much greater financial sacrifices than officers. The idea of discriminating between officers and men in respect to compensation for injuries received in the war was "obnoxious"; Congress was "in favor of the boy who goes down into the trenches and faces

[1] Samuel McCune Lindsay, in *The Review of Reviews*, October, 1917. This article of Dr. Lindsay's was introduced into the congressional debates and spread upon the record in full at least three times.

the guns getting just as much as a major general if he loses both arms or both eyes or both legs."

The rates established by the law "if and while the disability is total" range from $30 per month for a man with no dependents to $75 for a man with a wife and three or more children, with an additional $10 if he has a widowed mother dependent[1] on him. An amendment of June, 1918, strikes out the restriction that a dependent mother must be widowed, and allows a similar addition of $10 in the case of a dependent father. If the man is "so helpless as to be in constant need of a nurse or attendant, such additional sum shall be paid, but not exceeding $20 per month, as the director may deem reasonable." A man totally disabled, therefore, if he has a wife and three children and a dependent mother and father, may receive as much as $115 per month as long as these conditions remain the same. In the original bill, the minimum rates were somewhat higher than these, and the maximum monthly amount was fixed at $200 for the most highly paid officer.

Another change made by Congress, which, as Judge Mack said, injured "the harmony and symmetry of the bill," was the addition of a proviso that, without regard to the size of the family—even if there are no dependents at all—$100 per month shall be paid "for the loss of both feet or both hands or both eyes, or for becoming totally blind or helplessly and permanently bedridden from causes occurring in the line of duty in the service of the United States"; but in such cases no additional allowance is to be made for nurse or attendant. The object of this change was to bring the provisions for the men in this war into harmony with those already established for the veterans of previous wars, and to make sure that men injured in these particular appealing ways in this war should have at least as generous treatment, which was much dearer to the hearts of most Congressmen than the symmetry of the bill. "We do not want to leave the rate of

[1] A person is "dependent" on another, according to the definition adopted by the Treasury Department, "when he is compelled to rely, and the relations between the parties are such that he has a right to rely, in whole or in part, on the other for his support."

pension for these well determined injuries to the uncertain calculation of some bureau official or clerk"; no Congressman needs "the chattering of some compensation expert to enable him to come to the conclusion as to the amount of pension he should vote for a blind man or an armless or legless man injured while fighting his country's battles." The including of the "helplessly and permanently bedridden" was probably due to a suggestion made by Judge Mack in the hearings before the Senate committee that they were at least equally entitled to the maximum. There was some pressure also, though it did not prevail, to establish the loss of one arm or leg as equivalent to total disability. It was argued that a man so injured would presumably get only half the amount fixed for total disability, which as the bill then stood would have been $20 per month for a single man:

> You can bring in all the compensation experts that you can round up between the Golden Gate and Hell Gate, but they will never convince me that it is equitable, just, and right. You can call on the Secretary of the Treasury to approve it, and the Interstate Commerce Committee of this House, yea, although it is endorsed by the President of the United States, I still remain not convinced that it is just and equitable.

For partial disability "the monthly compensation shall be a percentage of the compensation that would be payable for his total disability, equal to the degree of the reduction in earning capacity resulting from the disability, but no compensation shall be payable for a reduction in earning capacity rated at less than ten per centum." The rating of injuries is left to the bureau, which is charged to establish a schedule "based, as far as practicable, upon the average impairments of earning capacity resulting from such injuries in civil occupations and not upon the impairment in earning capacity in each individual case, so that there shall be no reduction in the rate of compensation for individual success in overcoming the handicap of a permanent injury." It is provided that the bureau shall from time to time revise this schedule "in accordance with actual experience." This duty of establishing a schedule of ratings for partial disabilities is, as Judge Mack said to the army and navy representatives, "a mighty hard

job." It will be interesting to see whether it will be possible to test the accuracy of the ratings by experience, as the law assumes, especially if the new doctrine of increasing the earning power of all the disabled—frequently to a point above what it was before the disability was incurred—is applied in all its possibilities, to all disabled alike, for that would hopelessly obscure the normal, unobstructed effects of injuries.

It is expressly provided that "the amount of each monthly payment shall be determined according to the family conditions then existing." This means keeping up with all births and deaths and arrival of children at the age of eighteen. An amendment in June, 1918, substitutes "existing on the first day of the month" for "then existing," in order to avoid the necessity for prorating the payments. Heavy penalties are provided for intentional fraud, and an investigating system has been established, with a network of local examiners covering the entire country. The spirit of the investigation section of the bureau is not that of a detective service; its purpose is to see that justice is done, not primarily to detect fraud.

The special object of this provision making the amount received each month depend on the family status that month, Judge Mack explained to the House committee, was to encourage marriage, or at least to avoid discouraging it:

> The boys coming back from this war will be from 21 to 31, very largely. . . . They are going to come back needing as no other men in this country will need the love and care that only a wife and children can give to any man, and if any people are entitled to the joys of married life and can get a self-sacrificing woman who will marry them and raise children to them, it is these youngsters of ours coming back in that condition. They are eugenically fit for marriage if their injuries are loss of limbs and they are not diseased. And they need the joys of married life. They can't expect to get a woman to marry them if they can't in some measure contribute to her care.
>
> These disabled boys with this handicap that we have put on them ought not to be subjected to the further handicap of leading either celibate or immoral lives when they come back because they can't afford to get married. So, we have taken the bull by the horns and say, practically, these men are entitled to marry and raise children, and it is the duty of the government in measuring the monthly compensation . . . to protect that wife and those

children the same way we protect the wife and children of the man now when he goes out to serve.

It is stipulated in the law that the bureau may review an award at any time, either on its own motion or on application, and "in accordance with the facts found upon such review, may end, diminish, or increase the compensation previously awarded, or, if compensation has been refused or discontinued, may award compensation." The bureau may require medical examinations whenever there is reasonable ground for doing so, and refusal to submit to such examination involves forfeiture of compensation "while such refusal or obstruction continues," with no possibility of recovering the amount thus lost.

Persons in receipt of compensation are required to "submit to any reasonable medical or surgical treatment furnished by the bureau whenever requested by the bureau." Payments are suspended during "wilful failure" to follow a course of reeducation when that is advised and provided. This requirement has been modified by subsequent legislation, which will be described later.

In addition to compensation the United States will provide "such reasonable governmental medical, surgical, and hospital services" and "such supplies, including artificial limbs, trusses, and similar appliances, as the director may determine to be useful and reasonably necessary."

Claims for compensation for disability must be filed within five years after discharge or after the beginning of the disability, when it does not manifest itself until after discharge. In the original bill this period was only one year. It was raised to ten by the generous House, who thought the limitation to one "not in keeping with the spirit of American institutions"; cut down to two by the Senate; and finally raised to a compromise at five in the conference committee. The provision was allowed to stand that "no compensation shall be payable for death or disability which does not occur prior to or within one year after discharge or resignation from the service, except that where, after a medical examination made pursuant to regulations, at

the time of discharge or resignation from the service, or within such reasonable time thereafter, not exceeding one year, as may be allowed by the regulations, a certificate has been obtained from the director to the effect that the injured person at the time of his discharge or resignation was suffering from injury likely to result in death or disability, compensation shall be payable for death or disability, whenever occurring, proximately resulting from such injury." This certificate gives a man a *prima facie* case, no matter when he may become disabled, while on the other hand it guards somewhat against the difficulties which have been common in the past through applications twenty or thirty or forty years after the war for pensions on account of injuries attributed to the service.

"In the line of duty" has received a liberal construction. By General Order Number 47, issued in June, 1918, the fact that a man has been accepted for service is established as presumptive evidence that any disability which appears subsequently, before discharge, has had its origin in the service:

> Hereafter any soldier who shall have been accepted on his first physical examination after arrival at a military station as fit for service shall be considered to have contracted any subsequent determined physical disability in the line of duty unless such disability can be shown to be the result of his own carelessness, misconduct, or vicious habits, or unless the history of the case shows unmistakably that the disability existed prior to entrance into the service. The same rulings shall apply in the case of officers who have been passed as fit for service on physical examination upon entrance into the service.

Cases of tuberculosis will especially be affected by this order, superseding as it does the ruling of the Surgeon General of September 11, 1917—which was itself exceptionally liberal, as compared with the practice in some other countries:

> A case of chronic tuberculosis in which the length of service is three months or less shall be considered to be not in line of duty; cases of acute tuberculosis shall be considered to be in line of duty in all cases, irrespective of length of service. When action must be taken in cases in which the distinction between the acute and chronic forms is not made, cases of three months or longer service shall be considered to be in line of duty; those of less than three months' service shall be considered to be not in line of duty

unless it be shown that the patient has had some disease since enlistment, such as measles, or there is a history of excessive fatigue or of exposure in line of duty calculated to break down the resistance of the individual.

Compensation is paid in monthly instalments. It is not assignable, and it is exempt from taxation, from attachment, and from execution.

The original bill provided for commutation of compensation in whole or in part for a lump sum, "if the injured person be deemed competent and not likely to become a public charge, upon his application and evidence satisfactory to the director that it will be for his best interests and for the best interests of his dependents, if any," with the reservation, however, that in case of disability equal to more than thirty per cent of total disability at least fifty per cent of the compensation shall be retained in monthly payments, to guard against need due to failure in the project for which a lump sum is desired. This provision was opposed by the Committee of Insurance Representatives appointed by Secretary McAdoo: "While it is recognized that the investment of capital provided by commutation may result profitably, experience shows that the contrary result will be more frequent." The House, though with reluctance and against its better judgment, allowed it to stand, but it was cut out in the Senate.

The argument against commutation was the same in both chambers: it is "our duty to see to it" that the soldiers and their dependents are protected from the certain loss of their money, since such interference would be "for the welfare of the country"; for "the only thing that can result from commutation will be the loss in nine cases out of ten of every dollar that is received." This was evidently the general opinion in the House, and it was not shaken by the apt rejoinder of the gentleman officially standing for the measure, that "It would be for the welfare and happiness of a great many men if more men had guardians, but I would not be willing to vote for it." The section was struck out in the Senate, practically without debate, on the motion of Senator Brady of Idaho, whose speech seems to have expressed the

prevailing views. He argued that "these men" will come back and find opportunities for investment and ask for the lump sum; then they will lose it; and then "their families will be in want; and every Senator on this floor knows that in a case of that character, when they would come here and ask for a pension, this body would grant it. We would not permit the wives and sons and daughters of our soldiers to be in want. . . . We never have done it in years gone by, and we would not do it now." It was not suggested that to grant a pension under such circumstances would not be perfectly proper, but they did not wish to create the circumstances. From ninety to ninety-five per cent of all business enterprises fail, it was frequently stated, and furthermore, said Senator Brady, the man may die, and "after he is gone, how many women are capable of administering a little estate?" "I want to protect our boys who fight for their country. They have fought for their country and their country's cause, and it is our duty to place safeguards around them today that will make it impossible for them to lose the money that we have provided for them. . . . They are sacrificing their lives for us. Let us do all that we can for them and their dependents."

Insurance

While it is easy to dispute the novelty of the compensation feature of the new law, there can be no question that the provision for cheap insurance which any member of the forces may take voluntarily as an additional protection against death or total permanent disability is not only new but also extremely interesting. A few Canadian cities had insured the lives of their recruits for $1,000 each in private companies, and Toronto later arranged to write its own insurance for its men, and this may have suggested the plan which we have adopted, but nothing on so bold and daring a scale has been tried in any other country. When we consider that there was no experience on which to base estimates of any value whatever as to the probable cost of such insurance, nor even as to the probable proportion

of the forces who would avail themselves of the opportunity and in what amounts they would take out their policies, the United States Government seems an incarnation of the youthful spirit of adventure which has been a familiar element in American life since the beginning of our history.

In the minds of the framers of the law the insurance scheme was an integral part of the plan of provision for the disabled men and the dependents of the men who are killed. Said Miss Lathrop, of the Children's Bureau, to the House Committee:

> This bill must be considered as a unit. It expresses a sound public policy and is drawn with a profound understanding of how best to stimulate self-respect and thrift. It offers opportunities rather than doles. It places the entire responsibility upon the government, where it belongs. It skilfully appeals to the initiative of the individual and the family.
>
> We are especially gratified with the insurance plan, because we regard the provisions in Article III as entirely inadequate without the insurance features, and we regard Article IV—the insurance provision—as a far better guaranty of safety with respect to the future independence of the soldier and the soldier's family than would be given by increasing the cash allowances of Article III.

Judge Mack, also, in the course of the hearings before the same committee, spoke of the compensation features as "hinged up" with the insurance: "If you knock out the insurance scheme the compensation scheme is not liberal enough. But we have counted on the insurance scheme. We want to leave something to initiative, we want to leave a man to protect himself, and if he has other people dependent on him, all right, let him take out insurance and protect himself for that so as to cover those people who are actually dependent on him."

What the government does is this: it offers to every enlisted man and commissioned officer and to every member of the nurse corps, in order to give them "greater protection for themselves and their dependents than is provided in Article III" (the compensation article), to insure them against death or "total permanent disability," without medical examination, at rates which are approximately what they would pay if they were leading the ordinary life of a civilian in time of peace, minus "loading,"

which comprises overhead charges, commissions, advertising, and similar expenses, and is a large item in the premium rates of private companies.

"Total disability" has been defined by the Treasury Department as "any impairment of mind or body which renders it impossible for the disabled person to follow continuously any substantially gainful occupation." Total disability "shall be deemed to be 'permanent' whenever it is founded upon conditions which render it reasonably certain that it will continue throughout the life of the person suffering from it." The same regulation provides that "whenever it shall be established that any person to whom any instalment of insurance has been paid . . . on the ground that the insured has become totally and permanently disabled, has recovered the ability to continuously follow any substantially gainful occupation, the payment of instalments of insurance shall be discontinued forthwith and no further instalments thereof shall be paid so long as such recovered ability shall continue."

The law provides that insurance policies must be for not less than $1,000 and not more than $10,000, and must be in multiples of $500. Application must be made within 120 days after enlistment and before discharge or resignation, or, for those already in active service at the time of the publication of the terms and conditions of the insurance, within 120 days after that date. Privilege of application was later extended to April 12, 1918, for all who had entered the service on or before December 14, 1917. Any person in active service on and after April 6, 1917, is insured automatically, as if for something like $4,500 (*i.e.*, to receive monthly payments of $25), until the expiration of the period allowed for applying for insurance, unless he has already applied for insurance to take effect at an earlier date.

To prevent speculation on the lives of soldiers and sailors and nurses, application for insurance must be made by the individual himself, and the only persons who may be named as beneficiaries are "a spouse, child, grandchild, parent, brother, or sister." If

no beneficiary within the permitted class is designated by the insured, either in connection with the insurance or in his will, or if the designated beneficiary does not survive the insured, the insurance, or the remaining instalments of it, shall be paid to such person or persons, within the prescribed degree of relationship, as would under the laws of the State of residence of the insured be entitled to his personal property in case of intestacy. If no such person survive the insured, an amount equal to the reserve value of the insurance at the time of his death shall be paid to his estate.

This insurance is not assignable or subject to claims of creditors either of the insured or of the beneficiaries.

It is expressly provided that "the insurance shall be payable in two hundred and forty equal monthly instalments," on the theory that an annuity is preferable to a paid-up policy. In case of disability, however, payments are to continue during the period of disability, even though it should be longer than twenty years.

Provisions for maturity at certain ages, for continuous instalments during the life of the insured or beneficiaries, or both, for cash, loan, paid-up and extended values, dividends from gains and savings, and such other provisions for the protection and advantage of and for alternative benefits to the insured and the beneficiaries as may be found to be reasonable and practicable, may be provided for in the contract of insurance, or from time to time by regulations. All calculations shall be based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality and interest at three and one-half per centum per annum.

Premiums are to be the net rates based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality and interest at three and one-half per cent. They are not to be required for more than one month in advance, and may be deducted from the pay or the deposit of the insured. The excess cost resulting from the hazards of war, as well as the entire cost of administration, is to be borne by the United States.

During the period of the war and for five years after, unless converted before that time, the insurance shall be ordinary "term" insurance for successive terms of one year each. For

five years after the termination of the war the insured shall have the right to convert this term insurance into any of the usual forms at the net premium rates for such forms and without medical examination. Unless converted, the insurance will lapse at the end of five years after the close of the war.

The director of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, "subject to the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall promptly determine upon and publish the full and exact terms" of the contract of insurance. The law was approved on October 6. Bulletin No. 1, Terms and Conditions of Soldiers' and Sailors' Insurance, is dated October 15. Further publicity was given by a three days' conference of officers and enlisted men of the army and navy which was held on October 16, 17 and 18, and by subsequent bulletins for general distribution, explaining in simple terms "Uncle Sam's Insurance" and how to get it.

The monthly rates per $1,000, as announced in Bulletin No. 1, range from sixty-three cents at the age of eighteen to $3.55 at the age of sixty-five. The amount of the 240 monthly instalments which the policies of different amounts insure in case of death or total permanent disability are as follows:

$1,000	$5.75	$5,500	$31.63
1,500	8.63	6,000	34.50
2,000	11.50	6,500	37.38
2,500	14.38	7,000	40.25
3,000	17.25	7,500	43.13
3,500	20.13	8,000	46.00
4,000	23.00	8,500	48.88
4,500	25.88	9,000	51.75
5,000	28.75	9,500	54.63
		$10,000	$57.50

Thus a man who is totally and permanently disabled, if he has taken out a $10,000 policy, will receive $57.50 per month for the rest of his life, in addition to his compensation. If he has a wife and as many as three children and a dependent mother, and is in need of constant attendance, his compensation will amount to $105, making a total assured monthly income of $162.50. If he has also a dependent father, it would reach the maximum provided, $172.50. If he is one of the persons for

whom the flat rate of $100 monthly compensation is provided, he would receive $157.50. Whether men in such circumstances will take an interest in "reeducation" remains to be seen.

As for this insurance, even the maximum policy of $10,000 is within reach of every young man in the service. At the age of twenty-five the premium is only $6.60 per month. After deducting from the minimum pay of $30 the compulsory allotment of $15, there would still be enough for this premium and the amount of spending money which army officials think sufficient—unless the man has already subscribed up to the hilt for Liberty Bonds, as has frequently been the case in some training camps.

In view of the novelty and extreme importance of this departure on the part of our government, it will not be out of place to review the plan through some extracts from Judge Mack's explanation of it to the representatives of the army and navy at the conference in October:

> The thought underlying the insurance article was this, that after the loss of the ordinary income that is compensated for by the family allowance, and the risk of loss of life and limb in the service that is compensated for by the disability and death provisions, . . . comes the loss of present insurability. Men ought to insure themselves against the inevitable; whether they do or do not is, of course, a matter of their own concern. But in ordinary peace times every man who is fit to be in the army, or at least to enter the army, can go out and buy insurance. The result of entering or being in the service is that he can not buy insurance. I say can not; I mean, practically speaking; literally you can, but at a prohibitive rate. From your standpoint, the rate is exorbitant, and therefore prohibitive, even though, from the standpoint of the insurance company, the rates may well be entirely reasonable. We do not know what the risk is going to be; we do not know to what extent the mortality or disability percentage is going to be increased. It's really largely guesswork even though we take the European experience as a basis; and because of this the insurance companies are adopting different rates. Some of them absolutely refuse to insure men against this hazard at all. Others are ready to insure them at the present time at an additional rate of from $37.50 to $100 per $1,000. That would mean for you from $375 to $1,000 a year extra on $10,000 insurance over and above the ordinary premium that we civilians would pay, just because you are in the service.
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> Now, it was felt that it is utterly wrong for the people of this country to throw that burden upon the men in the service, and that that at least is a definite loss which the government can replace. Further, it was believed

that there is only one really adequate way of replacing it, . . . and that is by giving back in kind what has been taken away, by restoring your insurability and restoring it on at least as good a basis as the rest of us had. The only feasible way for the government of the United States to restore the insurability of you men is to sell you the insurance that you could have gotten in private insurance companies, and therefore that is the plan that was adopted.

It was urged that the government pay this extra premium to the private insurance companies and the private insurance companies were ready to be very fair and just and generous if that had been considered. Many were, and I think all of them would have been, entirely willing that this extra premium be set aside as a fund, and if there was anything saved out of it that it should be given back; but, on the other hand, if it was exhausted and more than exhausted, the government should pay the difference. That would have been one way of handling the matter. . . . But the government of the United States is not in the habit of carrying its insurance in private companies; it carries its own insurance so far as fire is concerned, and there is no reason why it should not carry its own insurance so far as your lives are concerned.

Then, again, it was felt by many that to make such a proposition would be to give a general government indorsement to every insurance company or fraternal organization of which any of you might be members. . . .

No good reason was apparent against the United States itself directly insuring you men. And there are many good reasons in favor of it. You are a limited class; but for the war you would be the best class of insurance risks that could be found in the world. The government of the United States, if it went into the insurance business, would not have the number of items of expense that the private insurance companies have. In the first place, it would not have the expense of commissions to agents, and that's a heavy item of expense, . . . But the United States Government, when it offers you the opportunity to buy this insurance at less than peace rates, does not need any insurance agents; this opportunity is so wonderfully attractive that a man must be a fool or crazy and not fit to be in the service if he does not avail himself of it to the utmost extent of his financial ability.

Then the government pays no taxation; it has no medical examination fees and medical inspection and supervision, because it is going to take you all as you are. There are a few of you who may not be insurable. [But] . . . the great mass has just undergone a careful medical examination. They would not be in the service if they were not insurable, and so the government does not need to incur the expense of medical examinations.

And then the government need not advertise or look for investments and employ high-priced and high-salaried men to conduct its business. . . . Men work for the government at a quarter to a tenth of what they could get in private life for the same amount of work with the same ability. . . . And so the only expense that the government has is that of the actual administration of this insurance office; and as this insurance is limited to our fighting forces, it seemed only right and proper that the cost of administering it

should not be charged up to the men, but should be deemed a general governmental war expense.

When that was once decided, it followed that the government could well afford to sell this insurance not merely at peace-time rates, but at peace-time rates less the loading which private companies add for expenses and emergencies. Now, . . . if you deduct this, the government could afford to sell its insurance from, say, 20 to 30 per cent less than the private companies would charge.

Then came the question what kind of insurance should the government sell. [Here follow two or three pages of clear description of the advantages of different kinds under different circumstances, ending with a statement of "the two propositions" he has been trying to illustrate.] First, that it is a bad thing for a man to take out yearly renewable term insurance with the intention of keeping it up for his life, because when he gets old it is going to be difficult for the average man to keep it up; second, that if a man is going into an extra-hazardous occupation for a short period he would be extremely foolish if he did not take the very cheapest kind of insurance he could get, provided only that after the hazardous period is over he has the right to change it into some one or other of the forms best suited to his circumstances.

Now, the kind of insurance that the United States Government is issuing is based upon the validity of those two statements. The military forces are going into an extra-hazardous occupation. . . . They would be foolish during that period of extra hazard if they took anything but the very cheapest insurance that they could possibly get. The United States in issuing that insurance is not trying to make money out of the boys; it is not trying to do something for its own good. It is trying to do the best it can for them. Therefore . . . it is provided in this bill that during the period of the war the only kind of insurance that the United States Government will issue to you is this so-called yearly renewable term insurance, the cheapest possible insurance that you can get. But it would be equally wrong for the United States to tempt you into keeping up the kind of insurance which for the great mass of men in the service . . . would become impossible to carry when they reached old age. . . . And therefore it is provided that while the United States will sell only this cheapest kind of insurance during the war, and while it will permit you to keep it up, if you want to, for five years after the war, so that you will have plenty of time to consider what is best for you as a permanent policy, when those five years are over, or earlier if you want to, you must change that insurance into one of the more permanent forms. It will cost you more, of course, but whatever it costs you you will more than get your money's worth.

. . . . . .

The law is thoroughly democratic. Some of you might want $100,000 insurance, but it would not be fair and just for the government to give you that. The government can only give you a reasonable measure of protection, and Congress finally decided in accordance with the original suggestion,

strongly urged by President Wilson, that $10,000 of insurance was a reasonable measure of protection. Every man and woman in the service, officers and men, are entitled to this service in equal measure. It is true that the average American policy is only $1,800, and it is likewise true that the average young man fails to take any insurance. But nobody knows what he might have done, particularly in view of the war, and it is but reasonable and just that the people of the United States should give him this chance. He is a free American citizen and it is up to him to decide what use he wants to make of the opportunity. But it is democratic in this: the right to buy up to $10,000 insurance is not only granted to all alike, but every private can afford to buy the limit, if he so desires.

. . . . . .

This insurance, once issued by the government, can be kept up forever, not only during the war, but afterward; not only during the period of term insurance but when you convert it. It has nothing to do with private insurance companies. It is government insurance forever. It applies for all time to all men who take it out while they are in the active military and naval service, not only to those now in service, not only to those serving during the present war, but to the soldiers and sailors for all time; and it will be continued for them after they leave the service.

Discussion on Insurance

The proposal of "optional insurance" naturally received a great deal of discussion. The principal objection to it was that it left the matter to the discretion of the individual soldier, and that this meant inevitably that the thrifty or the well-to-do would take advantage of it, but that many would not, and that thus class distinctions would arise which would make trouble in future years if not now. There was also more or less fear that this would be an entering wedge for a general system of State insurance after the war.

The very first proposal in regard to insurance, made by Hon. Edwin F. Sweet, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, was that the government should give insurance protection to the amount of $4,000 to every enlisted soldier without any cost to the men, and this plan, with different ideas as to the amount which should be provided, was favored by the insurance representatives generally and by a considerable element in Congress. Others thought that it ought to be made compulsory, like the family allotments: "If it is a good thing, why not compel them to take it?" In

either case the underlying idea was that all the men ought to be in the same position with respect to any benefits offered by the government. The reasoning of the Administration and the framers of the bill was a little subtle for many. Secretary McAdoo expressed it thus before the House committee:

> When men are called into the service of the government, either because they volunteer or because they are drafted, they find themselves unable to procure life insurance except at very high premiums. The life insurance companies, of course, must charge a rate which will safeguard them against the risks they assume. . . . To him (the private) that is a prohibitive rate, and therefore it destroys his insurability absolutely so far as his means are concerned. At the same time it reduces very largely his earning power, because the average man who is taken into the army is earning more than $360 a year. . . .
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> When the government destroys the earning power of the individual to that extent, destroys his insurability, and then drafts him into extra-hazardous service, which may result in the destruction of his life or in permanently disabling him, it owes that man restitution. I use that word because it expresses my idea exactly.

Later in the same hearing, as also on many other occasions, Judge Mack gave his interpretation:

> Their insurability has been taken away when we conscript them into the army. Now, of course, we are going to give them compensation . . . but we are depriving them of something more valuable than that. We are depriving them of the power to guard themselves by American self-initiative, by American self-reliance, by payment out of their pockets for their own protection in the future.

The position taken by the insurance companies was that the insurance article of the bill was "vicious in principle and that, in view of the liberality of Articles II and III, it is absolutely unnecessary and should be eliminated. We believe that the amount of the benefit to be distributed in each instance should be determined by the government and not by the individual soldier. And we believe that the costs and disbursements should be borne wholly by the government." Although it was their opinion that the provisions of Articles II and III were both liberal and ample, still, "in order to provide for any other possi-

ble contingency, and as a recognition of those without dependents and those who were injured but gave their services to their country, it is suggested that the United States Government pay a death benefit of $1,000 in the event of the death of any officer or enlisted man in the army, navy, or marine corps, provided death occurs during service or within five years after the date of his discharge; that this death benefit shall not call for the payment of any premium and shall be payable to any named beneficiary or to the estate if no beneficiary is named." These quotations are from the formal reports of the committee. Mr. Ide, its chairman, speaking a little more freely before the Senate committee, said:

> When old age and infirmities come to them, can you not see recurring, for the benefit of this class, legislation exactly similar to that which we have had in the past in regard to pensions? . . . It is my firm belief that if, as is proposed, you provide allowances for the dependents of the fighting men, if you grant to the dependents of men who have been injured compensation for partial disability, total disability, and death, you have acted generously and wisely. If, in addition to the death indemnity under Article III you give to all a stated sum, be it $1,000 or $2,000 or more, without any payment of premium, this amount to be payable within a stated period, not more than ten years after the close of the war, you will have adopted a plan more generous in its scope, more American in its spirit, than has ever been dreamed of by any other nation. You will have filled our fighting men with courage and with enthusiasm, and you will have treated all alike.
>
> Make it clear that this is a measure to meet the exigencies of this war. As far as possible, rid the bill of all vague and uncertain language and leave as little as you can to future determination and decision by the bureau. Eliminate Article IV as being too vague in its language and utterly unsound in principle. It leads to manifest discriminations and consequent injustices. It opens the door wide for future pension legislation. It involves needless administrative expense. It offers great rewards to speculation. It is class legislation in favor of those who are able to pay the premiums, especially after the war. It can not be opposed simply as State insurance, because it does not pretend to sell insurance at cost, but at less than cost.

When the question was raised in the House committee about the "conflict of interests" between this plan and the business of the private companies, Mr. Henry Moir, who was then testifying—one of the five prominent actuaries who had been asked to prepare estimates of the cost of the proposed measure—replied:

> Anything that the government does to show the benefit of life insurance will help our business, because there are lots of people who are not in the army and are not insured now. . . . But a comparatively small proportion of these young men either carry policies in our companies now, or intend to take them in the near future, so that so far as competition is concerned, we can dismiss that from our minds. It will do us more good than harm. In other words, advertising of the insurance principle is the biggest advertisement we can get.

A certain Mr. Milliken, an insurance man of Washington, appeared before the House committee with an elaborate draft of a bill for commandeering one of the large insurance companies and operating through it compulsory insurance, at a cost to the soldier of $5 per month per $1,000 instead of $8 per year. To the Senate committee he presented a petition signed by two hundred soldiers in one of the training camps, protesting against the insurance feature of the "Mack bill," and urging the substitution of the "Milliken bill." He explained that he had gone out to the camp and got some soldiers together and talked to them, before posting the petition.

In the debates on the floor of the House the chief objection was on the score of inequality, as in the opposition of the insurance men. It was not fair to give five-sixths or seven-eighths of the cost of the insurance to those men who would pay a small sum: "We ought to give to all or to none if we are for equality in the army." It was "an unjust and unkind statute." It was "aristocratic," because officers will "have foresight and business ability enough to see the advantage of getting $10 worth of insurance by paying $1," while the rank and file presumably will not have enough foresight, or if they do, will not have the money for the premiums. Several members argued that it should be either free for all or compulsory upon all, with apparently little choice between the two alternatives, so long as all were treated alike. Several others spoke for some such plan as that proposed by Mr. Ide, and an amendment was introduced providing for free "insurance" in the amount of $3,000 for every man killed in the war. There were many who warned of the dissatisfaction that might be expected in the future because of the

difference in the financial situation of two men injured in the same way, for example:

It does not seem to me that it will do, twenty years after this war is over, to have two men, both disabled to the same degree, one of them drawing a pension or insurance instalment from the government and the other not drawing any. The one would say to the other, "Why, you are getting something and I am not getting anything." The other would reply, "You did not know enough to apply for insurance and let them take 66⅔ cents a month out of your pay when you were in the army." I do not believe that will do. (Mr. Platt, of New York.)

After this war shall have ended, and those who do not take advantage of it (the insurance) come home, say 25 per cent, with empty trousers' leg or empty sleeve or lost health, are going around the streets of the towns of our various congressional districts, does not the gentleman think that that of itself would create such a unanimity of sentiment that it would absolutely force Congress to grant those men pensions in years to come? (Mr. Kincheloe, of Kentucky.)

Senator Smoot offered an amendment substituting for the insurance article of the bill provision for a fully paid-up indemnity of $2,000 to everybody in case of death or total disability. His argument for the change (which is a summary of the objections to the insurance article of the bill) was as follows:

(1) The proposal in the bill is "an experiment pure and simple. The government is proposing to engage in the most highly specialized and technical form of business known to the American people."

(2) It offers "a gratuity to the few, to which all in the same service should be entitled, if any are entitled to it."

(3) It is miscalled "insurance," and should be called "indemnity" or "excess indemnity," since the government pays the excess cost and the overhead expenses.

(4) It constitutes a discrimination in favor of the rich, since they will be able to take advantage of it and the rest will not.

(5) It is discriminatory further in requiring application within 120 days.

(6) It would be forcing the government into a huge insurance business. If only half the men (assuming a total of 2,000,000) take $5,000, that would mean a volume of $5,000,000,000—more than the combined policies of the three largest American companies.

(7) A lump sum payment, as suggested in the amendment, would obviate the necessity of creating a department to handle monthly payments, and would be in every way much simpler to manage. Even that "would be tremendously expensive, but it would be a direct recognition of the obligation of the government to the soldiers and their dependents."

Mr. P. Tecumseh Sherman, Commissioner of Labor of the State of New York, and a member of the committee which drafted the bill, gave as the reason why the insurance should not be free, in his testimony before the House committee, that "it should vary according to the needs of the soldier. It is not right, for instance, if there should be a young man who is well-to-do . . . and with no dependents, that the United States should give him $1,000 of insurance free, and then that the next man with a family of a high standard of living should not have any means provided whereby he could get any more insurance than $1,000. We want to make it so that the people who go to the war will get what they need." Judge Mack, in another connection in the course of the same hearing, suggested that an additional reason, though a subsidiary one, for asking the soldiers to pay something, is that it would help to bring their pocket-money down to the maximum of $10 per month which is all General Pershing thinks they ought to have if there is to be democracy in the trenches when American soldiers are side by side with their allies whose army pay is so much lower.

There was not unnaturally some concern about the implications of this undertaking with reference to the future. Secretary McAdoo stated explicitly to the House committee that the operations of the government would necessarily continue until the liabilities are liquidated, but that the bill "is intended to apply only to the men of the army and the navy," and that new business would not be taken after the war, "unless the Congress should determine that we should,[1] or unless we engaged in another war, I suppose." Mr. Ide pointed out to the Senate committee that if the object of the provision was to "restore insurability" there is no logical reason for continuing the privilege of insurance after the war is ended, except for those men whose insurability is permanently impaired by some injury received in the service, for "there is no loss of insurability after the war for those who come out of the war more physically fit than before."

[1] Under the terms of the act the system which it introduces applies to those who at any time are in the active service of the army or navy.

It was feared in the House that "it will convert the whole system of insurance into a state socialistic system, that after the war Congress will permit or authorize the government to insure anybody and everybody at the premium we are authorizing the insurance of these soldiers." A demand from the civil service employes was anticipated, and "Would members of Congress have nerve enough to resist them if they asked it?" A gentleman from Massachusetts found it "peculiarly significant" that the measure was favored by the Socialist member from New York and by Mr. Gompers. Some of those who saw no possibility of closing up the bureau as long as any of the insured men or their beneficiaries live, nevertheless hoped that "this will not be used as a leverage to pry open the government treasury and put it into general insurance business." On the other hand there were arguments presented for including in this very bill other classes of government employes, such as consular agents, and also Red Cross workers and Americans serving under the flags of our allies.

The impression remaining after a perusal of the debates in both houses is that the characteristic of this scheme of providing for soldiers and sailors and their dependents which commended it to the legislators of the country was its bountiful and open-handed liberality—not any conviction of the superior advantage of "compensation" over "pensions" or of the abstract excellence of the particular opportunity offered in the way of insurance, but the generous look of the whole scheme, taking it all together. "Our country is pledged to a liberal pension scheme," and for that reason one man spoke for the bill. "I have always lent my voice," said another, "and my vote in favor of a liberal allowance for the soldier and sailor who have fought for our country." "This bill appeals to me," said Senator Vardaman, "to my sense of justice—and squares absolutely with my idea of the eternal fitness of things. . . . It is the one act of Congress in all the great mass of war legislation which recognizes the human being, the immortal soul, the anguish, and human suffering, as being of more importance to the

Congress and the people of the country than mere dollars and cents. We know that it is going to be costly, but who cares for the cost when hungry children are crying, when the aged parents, the loving wives are suffering for the necessaries of life?" Mr. Adamson of Georgia got an ovation by replying to a questioner who deprecated the absence of any provision for soldiers' homes, that "The question what will become of the soldier and when the benefit will cease depends on when this government will end, and this government will end

> When wrapt in flames the realms of ether glow
> And heaven's last thunders shake the world below."

Speaker Clark was "more in favor of this bill than of any other bill that has been introduced since we declared war. . . . I believe in insurance. I carry every kind of life insurance that human ingenuity ever devised. . . . I never was able to save any money. . . . I am in favor of doing everything I know how to make the soldiers when they go to Europe comfortable. Not only comfortable physically, but comfortable mentally." Furthermore, it wouldn't absolutely ruin the country if things were "evened up" as members of the Pension Committee had been urging, and as was done before Congress got through with the bill, by inserting a paragraph which raises the minimum pension of all widows of former wars to twenty-five dollars a month.[1] Another gentleman testified that he had voted "with greater pleasure and delight" for pension bills than for any others that had been under consideration during his connection with Congress, and therefore he was in favor of this measure, which he considered "an improvement over the so-called pension system," "more scientific," "much broader in its scope." "We can not be too liberal."

[1] Another measure, passed in June, "evens up" things still further by guaranteeing to every veteran of the Civil War who is eligible for a pension not less than $30 a month, graduated up to $40, according to age.

The Outlook for Pensions in the Future

It was the hope of the advocates of this legislation that it would create "so fair, liberal, and satisfactory a system of meeting every just claim impersonally and as a matter of right that it would be practically impossible for any future Congress to consider a private pension bill and highly improbable that any soldier or his dependents would seek any other remedy than that provided" under this act. (See above, page 328.) It was hoped also that it would prevent the recurrence of "service pension" legislation, which Judge Mack described to the soldiers and sailors in the conference in October as putting a man

> in the position of appealing to his government for help, not because he has become disabled in serving his government, but because he once served his government patriotically. Men do not like to be put in that position. An infinitely preferable method of meeting the need is by self-protection. A man can protect himself against disability and the inevitableness of death and their consequences by insuring himself, insuring himself when he is well, insuring himself at the beginning of his service so that later on in life, through his own efforts, he will have saved something for himself and for his family, and will not have to go to the government and say, "Just because I served you patriotically, despite the fact that you cared for me then, and that you promised to care for my family in case disaster came upon me as a result of my service, I now say that I want your help." This insurance is intended to protect men from being compelled, as our Civil War veterans felt compelled, to put themselves in that position. Whether or not service pension legislation will be averted, of course no man can foretell. No Congress can tie the hands of any subsequent Congress. But this Congress has erected a moral barrier on the firm American basis of self-reliance and self-protection.

"I am under the impression," said Mr. Gompers to the House committee, "that when this measure shall have been enacted into law you will hear very little about claims for pensions. It is the very antithesis of the pension system. Pensions here and everywhere have gone by kisses and favors to a large extent, and with all the injustices that have been done, with these scandals which have resulted from the old system—not now, I am very glad to know, but in the old days—they must disappear because there

is specific classification of what men are entitled to the benefits, regardless of whence they come or their standard of life."

It would be a trustful and confiding nature, however, which could still hope, after following the congressional debates, that this bill, or indeed "any power on earth," as one gentleman put it, could prevent supplementary legislation in the future, either in the way of general pension laws or of special bills, if there should at any time arise any feeling on the part of individuals or groups of individuals that they had not been treated as liberally as some of their associates. It is hard to associate demands of any kind with the chivalrous spirit of the boys who are going forth to give all that they have, joyfully and gayly, but the youth of '61 and '62 and '63 also went forth in the same spirit, ready to "throw away their lives like a flower." It is clear, at any rate, that if there is no repetition of pension legislation it will be because the men of this war do not want it, not because of any distaste for it in the minds of the representatives of the American people.

A few members of the committees which reported the bill, to be sure, upheld the views of those who framed it, but their voices are feeble in comparison with the eulogists—or accepters at least—of the theory of pensions. Mr. Rayburn of Texas, for example, feels "morally obligated not to vote for service pensions," and expects "the boys" in his district to feel the same way about asking for them, and Senator Williams took the same stand in the other chamber, but the eloquence and deep feeling were for the most part on the other side of the question.

To many the idea of "compensation" did not appeal in the least, and was not recognized as an advance in theory over "pensions"; the insurance scheme, as has been mentioned, was looked upon as "discriminatory" and bound to create classes, even though it gave all the same chance; and for the man who did not take insurance there was nothing unless he was killed or injured.

The idea of compensation had such opposition that, if we may judge from what was said on the floor, the bill might not

have passed the House except that they saw through the camouflage. One member said that "compensation" was nothing but "pension" anyway; all you have to do to see that is to strike out the "com" at the beginning and the "at" in the middle. Another said that "pension" was a much better word than "compensation" to describe the provisions of the measure, and that "we do not want to fool ourselves or the country." Others would refer to the provision for "compensation, or in other words, a pension." There were some who went so far as actually to resent the use of the word compensation. It was a reflection on "the brave men" who are now getting pensions to insinuate that a payment called compensation is free from the taint of charity which clings to pensions. How could a money payment "compensate" for total paralysis or loss of limb? "The pension laws, my dear friends, were not framed on any such theory at all. The pensioners of the United States who rendered military service are not the subjects of charity or compensation. They did not serve in order that they might get compensation. They served because they loved that flag and risked their lives for their country and its institutions; and what we do for them is not compensation. . . . Shame upon the argument that comes here in a written document and charges that every pensioner of the United States is in receipt of charity!" "I do not like that word 'compensation,'" said Senator Smith of Michigan. "When a man receives that, he is practically debarred from asking for anything else, no matter what his necessities and his condition may be. When he receives a pension from the government he may still, if the necessities require, ask for more, and he should have it. . . . I do not like this idea, surreptitiously or otherwise, of taking out of the legislation of our country the word 'pension.' It is an honorable word, and the roll is a roll of honor."

Objections such as these were only overcome by assurances that there was no need to worry, for the Congresses of the future could be trusted to do the right thing when the time came.

Private pension bills, the House was reminded, pass "practically without consideration"; "when an amendment is offered to increase a pension and make tear-shedding speeches over the condition of the pensioner, the House goes wild and votes almost anything." (On the day when this measure was introduced into both houses of Congress there were forty-six private pension bills introduced in the House and eight in the Senate.) There would be one or two or three million voters coming back from the war, and "in the future, as we have seen it in the past, their votes will not be forgotten by Congress." "I want to say," said Senator Smoot, "that I have no doubt whatever that if this bill passes just as it has been reported to the Senate, without the crossing of a 't' or the dotting of an 'i,' we are going to have pensions granted to the soldiers and sailors of the present war." (He had said before the committee that "it will only take one or two encampments with resolutions to the effect that they should have pensions, to enable them to get them." "We may be able to meet the demagogues, but we will not be able to meet the man who has spent all the government has given him, who is in a distressed condition, whose family is suffering, and more than likely many of them will be; and there is only one way to appeal to the government, and they are going to get a pension.") When some one suggested in the Senate that a man who secured a pension in the future would thereby forfeit his benefits under the present bill, Senator Smith replied:

I am not concerned about that. I just want to emphasize one phase of it. During my long service in both Houses of Congress I have had thousands of soldiers in dire distress come to me for relief. I have had soldiers come to me who formed a compact on the field of battle that they would never burden their government by asking for a pension or any other form of relief; and yet, through the vicissitudes of life, they have become dependent, and with their hearts breaking they have lived up to the agreement they made with their associates. Now, I say that I do not care a rap about any legislation that will make complainers out of soldiers. I do not want to reward the constant complainer, but I do want the liberty and privilege of caring for the brave man who not only bears the burden of his country but bears his own physical distress with courage and with fortitude. Any legislation that in any way compromises that right I disapprove, and any attempt to

build up a stone wall here by which men shall be deprived of the right to apply for pensions in the future, if their necessities require it, does not meet with my approval.

He was calmed by Senator Smoot's repeated assurance that he felt just as sure as he lived that there would be special pension legislation for the soldiers and widows of the present war, but went on with the protest about the word compensation which has been quoted above.

Several others expressed confidence in the responsiveness of future legislators to the needs of the heroes of this war:

I do not imagine this Congress is going to tie any succeeding Congress down, and if the situation is such in future that it is necessary to give additional relief it will be given from time to time. (Pomerene of California.)

After a while a million or two or three, or possibly five million soldiers, will be home from Europe, and they will adjust these pension laws according to the dictates of their own patriotic judgments. (Little of Kansas.)

In short, unless the temper of Congress changes radically, the prospect is that the survivors of this war will succeed—without much effort—in getting anything they ask for. The future rests with them.

It is one good omen, at least, that the men have almost as a body taken advantage of the opportunity to take out insurance, contrary to the predictions of the actuaries and the fears of Congress that the great mass could not afford it. The actuaries thought that it could hardly be expected that more than twenty-five per cent of those eligible would apply; one man thought that was "much too high," and put it nearer to fifteen per cent. They thought that the policies would run between $1,500 and $2,500, since the average policyholder in civil life carries only about $1,800. They were sceptical of the possibility of writing a large number of policies when the only reliance for getting business was publicity, without personal solicitation. The committee of insurance men called by the Secretary of the Treasury, on the other hand, foresaw that "the practical working out of this article would be that every member of the military forces would arrange to take the maximum amount of insurance possi-

ble," and that there would be "unlimited speculation," notwithstanding the effort to guard against it. Judge Mack hoped that instead of twenty-five per cent of the men taking policies of $1,800 there would be one hundred per cent taking $10,000.

Judge Mack and the insurance company officers were nearer right than the actuaries. By August, 1918, it is reported that something like ninety-five per cent of the entire army and navy were insured, and that the average policy was nearly $8,500. On a single day—February 14, 1918—54,000 applications were received, for $500,000,000 of insurance. From five to fifteen thousand letters were received by the bureau every day, and as many written. The clerical force required could best be measured by the acre. The total amount of insurance applied for was $23,000,000,000, and the United States had become by far the greatest insurance company in the world.

This result was no doubt due partly to the publicity which was given the measure by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. Several circulars describing the provisions in clear and simple language were published promptly and widely distributed; representatives of the officers and enlisted men of the army and navy were brought together in Washington for a three days conference within a fortnight after the bill was signed; and men were appointed in each unit of the forces to handle the business.

So well advertised was the insurance scheme, in fact, that there was an impression among some of the troops abroad, as late as the summer of 1918, that this was the only protection provided by the government. The compensation provisions, requiring no action on the part of the men, were less known. Furthermore, by one of those unforeseeable misinterpretations which are likely to develop in the process of transmitting information, even to a smaller body of individuals, it was understood or assumed by many that the insurance protects against partial disability as well as against "total permanent disability" and death.

While these misapprehensions may have had more or less to do with the success of the scheme, it is undoubtedly the "bar-

gain" character of the opportunity which is chiefly responsible. As it had frequently been pointed out in Congress, "any man would be a fool" not to take advantage of it if he could scrape together the money, and the mistake of the pessimistic Congressmen was in underestimating the proportion who would have the necessary money and who are not fools.

Fiscal Principles in Regard to Reeducation

The section in regard to reeducation received no opposition except from those who wished to see it made a more prominent feature of the act. As it stood it was merely one section in the Article on Compensation (Article III, Section 304):

> That in cases of dismemberment, of injuries to sight or hearing, and of other injuries commonly causing permanent disability, the injured person shall follow such course or courses of rehabilitation, reeducation, and vocational training as the United States may provide or procure to be provided. Should such course prevent the injured person from following a substantially gainful occupation while taking same, a form of enlistment may be required which shall bring the injured person into the military or naval service. Such enlistment shall entitle the person to full pay as during the last month of his active service, and his family to family allowances and allotment as hereinbefore provided, in lieu of all other compensation for the time being.
>
> In case of his wilful failure properly to follow such course or so to enlist, payment of compensation shall be suspended until such wilful failure ceases, and no compensation shall be payable for the intervening period.

The committee of insurance men considered this such an important part of the bill that it should appear as a separate article: "it is constructive legislation of a high order." They recommended that a commission should be appointed to take charge of this matter, empowered to engage experts in vocational training and in the education of the physically defective. It was urged in the House also that this should have been a separate article, "to indicate its coordinate importance" at least, one member even going so far as to say that "this is vastly more important to the injured man than the question of compensation."

It was explained by Judge Mack, however, that "this section

was never intended to cover the subject," but only to lay down two fiscal principles: that compensation is suspended during wilful failure to follow courses of reeducation provided by the government; and that "economic recuperation" shall not affect the compensation. The training of the disabled is "a tremendous job." This bill "does not provide how it shall be done. It merely assumes that it is going to be done and that further legislation is going to be enacted when it shall have been determined fully after the most careful study how it can best be done."

> This bill provides two stimulants—one negative and one positive. The negative is this, that a man must take the treatment, must take the course of education that the government will provide or procure to be provided, under penalty of suspension of his compensation during any period of unreasonable refusal. But that is negative; there is something better, there is something positive. It is not only in the interest of the man himself that he should be kept from going down, that he should be discontented with the dead level of the government minimum compensation; it is equally in the interest of the state. It is in the common interest that every latent power of the man should be developed, that he should strive for the highest economic level that it is possible for him to attain; and in order to stimulate him still more to strive for that, it is expressly provided in this bill that the compensation which the government gives him . . . is not going to be taken away from him because he has attained an even higher economic position than he had before the war. The compensation will be continued as long as the physical disability continues, regardless of the economic recuperation.

The theory of reeducation commanded enthusiastic interest and sympathy in both houses. This section of the bill was regarded as "a splendid provision," and the including of it "the highest compliment to the sound statemanship and the humanitarianism of the American Congress."

Subsequent Provision for Reeducation

The question as to how the United States should "provide or procure to be provided" the opportunities for reeducation which were assumed to be desirable was the subject of extended discussion. Many departments of the national government have a legitimate interest in the undertaking and some were more or

less inclined to claim exclusive responsibility. Various private organizations also concerned themselves actively in the plans.

In January, 1918, a conference was called by the Surgeon General of the army, at the direction of the Secretary of War, to decide upon the outline of a program which would be acceptable to the various branches of government and private organizations interested, and to draft a bill for presentation to Congress. This conference included representatives of the Surgeons General of the army, the navy, and the Public Health Service, of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the Bureau of Education, the new Federal Board for Vocational Education, the Department of Labor, the Federal Compensation Commission, the Council of National Defense, the Department of Civilian Relief of the American Red Cross, the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, the American Federation of Labor, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers.

A program was presented by the Surgeon General of the army which provided for a comprehensive system of reconstruction, both medical and vocational, to be carried out entirely under military auspices. It was objected by other members of the conference that the vocational part of the program was a civilian matter and should be under civilian authority; and that, furthermore, the welfare of disabled men had already been entrusted to the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in certain important respects, and that other departments of the government also had an interest and presumptive responsibility in the matter. After extended discussion a committee was appointed to draft recommendations, which were presented to the conference on January 21, in the form of a proposal for a bill establishing an interdepartmental commission to be called the Board for Vocational Rehabilitation. The Bureau of War Risk Insurance was empowered to "order" any disabled person receiving benefits under the act of October 6, 1917, who is unable to pursue his former occupation or some other suitable gainful occupation, to follow a course or courses of vocational rehabilitation, compen-

sation and family allowances being continued until the training is completed. The Board for Vocational Rehabilitation, provided to carry out the provisions of the act, was to consist of representatives of the Treasury Department, the Departments of War, of the Navy, of Labor, and the Federal Board for Vocational Education. It was authorized to appoint advisory committees (unpaid) on agriculture, on commerce and manufacture, and on labor. It was

> to formulate, establish, and maintain courses of vocational rehabilitation; to prescribe and provide proper courses for such disabled persons . . . as are ordered by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance to follow courses of vocational rehabilitation; and to provide proper courses for other injured persons as hereinafter provided; to establish such schools as may be necessary to maintain such courses; to provide classes directly or in cooperation with and through schools and classes already established, . . . ; to maintain or cause to be maintained courses of instruction for the preparation of teachers for vocational rehabilitation; to pay, when in the discretion of the board such payment is necessary, the cost of travel, lodging, and subsistence of disabled persons pursuing courses upon the order of the said Bureau of War Risk Insurance; to provide for, or to cooperate with other agencies in providing for, the placement of rehabilitated persons in gainful occupations; and to do all other things necessary to carry out the purposes of this act.

It was also to be the duty of this board to make, or cause to have made, studies, investigations and reports regarding the vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons and their proper employment.

The draft further provided that all treatment necessary to give "functional and mental restoration" prior to discharge from the army or navy should be under the executive control of the War Department and the Navy Department; after discharge, under the Bureau of War Risk Insurance; and that whenever "prevocational training or other work, mental or manual," is employed by any of these three agencies as a therapeutic measure, a plan should be arranged in cooperation with the Board of Vocational Rehabilitation for "a continuous process of prevocational and vocational training," as far as that may be compatible with the medical requirements of the case.

It was provided also that the opportunities to be established

by the board should as far as practicable be made available without cost to any person who has been disabled in the line of duty in the military or naval service of the United States after his discharge; and to any civil employe of the United States disabled in the performance of his duty, on the request of the United States Employes' Compensation Commission; and, upon the payment of fees, to any other person disabled "in the course of employment or otherwise," if requested by "any State compensation board or other State organization, or by any corporation, association, firm or individual."

The board was authorized to receive gifts, and it was proposed that $200,000 be appropriated for its expenses for the year ending June 30, 1918, and $10,000,000 "to be available until expended."

In April a bill was introduced into both houses of Congress (S. 4284, H. R. 11367), similar in its provisions to the draft proposed in January, except that responsibility was delegated to the Federal Board for Vocational Education instead of to an interdepartmental commission, and the scope was limited to men disabled in military and naval service instead of including also persons disabled "in the course of employment or otherwise." An appropriation of $2,000,000 was provided. The compulsory feature was retained, in a singularly clumsy form:

> Sec. 2. That every person who is disabled under circumstances entitling him after discharge . . . to compensation under Article III of the Act . . . who in the opinion of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, is unable to resume the former occupation or to enter upon some other suitable or gainful occupation, or, having resumed or entered upon such occupation, is unable to continue the same successfully, and may be vocationally rehabilitated, shall be ordered by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance to follow such course of vocational rehabilitation as the Federal Board for Vocational Education shall prescribe and provide, or, when deemed advisable by said board, shall be retained in the military or naval forces of the United States and be detailed to the control and direction of said board until the course of training prescribed has been satisfactorily completed.

At the instance of several organizations which took part in the January conference an amendment was urged to provide

opportunities for vocational training for "persons disabled in industry, or otherwise." This amendment proposed that the sum of $500,000 be appropriated to the States for the year ending June 30, 1919, $750,000 for the following year, and a $1,000,000 for the next, to enable them to provide facilities for reeducation of cripples; on condition that each State appropriate an amount equal to the sum allotted to it, designate or create a State board to be responsible for the work, and that this State board cooperate with the Federal Board for Vocational Education, which is to be the national supervisory and controlling body.

This Federal Board for Vocational Education, it should perhaps be recalled before going farther, is a new organ of the national government, established by the Vocational Education Act of February 23, 1917. It is interdepartmental in character, inasmuch as the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, and the Commissioner of Education are ex officio members. The other members are three citizens, appointed by the President, representing respectively the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country, the agricultural interests, and labor. The duties of this board are to assist and supervise the States in their use of the appropriations provided in the act for the promotion of vocational education in agriculture and in the trades and industries, and for the preparation of teachers for vocational subjects, and to "make studies, investigations, and reports" which will be of use in the furthering of vocational education. The board established its Research Division in the middle of the summer, and one of the first undertakings, authorized on August 16, was "to investigate thoroughly and at the earliest possible moment the entire question of the rehabilitation of war cripples." The results of these studies have been published as Bulletins No. 5, No. 6, and No. 15; the first two also as Senate Documents, and the third in large part in the memorandum submitted to the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House in its hearings on the Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Soldiers and Sailors.

Hearings were held by the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate and the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives in joint session on April 30, May 1, and May 2. They were "fascinating," reported the chairman, Senator Hoke Smith, to the Senate. The principal witness was Mr. T. B. Kidner, Vocational Secretary of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission of Canada, with Mr. C. A. Prosser, Director of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, a close second. Interest centered in the accounts of the reeducation of disabled soldiers in other countries, especially in Canada. Mr. Kidner was heard with enthusiastic attention, and was questioned on many points of practice and theory. Mr. Prosser, and several other witnesses who had seen the Canadian schools, testified to the success of the Canadian system.

General Gorgas appeared, merely to suggest that the bill "make it a little more clear" that it was not intended to interfere with the authority of the War Department in the military hospitals. Colonel Billings described the educational work of the Division of Reconstruction in the Medical Department of the army, telling of classes already in operation in several of the military hospitals, most of them taught by men discovered among the patients. He deprecated the compulsory character of the provision in the bill under discussion, and seconded the Surgeon General's request that "it should be clearly set forth that as long as the individual is a patient he should be under one authority." He seems to have felt the need of some sort of human machinery, if it could be devised, for adjusting differences of opinion which might arise between the educators and the doctors, "for the benefit of the man, who is, after all, the one consideration." To this end he suggested that possibly it would be helpful to have a small board of civilians, appointed by the President, "big men," who would have "vision about the whole thing," "vision of the man, beginning with his going abroad, a whole man; his being wounded and transported back; his treatment on the other side and on this side; his education and placement and everything else," and who, furthermore, would be "unembarrassed by

—if I may use the term—the jealousies existing between the various departments." Such a board would not have executive power, but would be rather advisory and conciliatory, an informal board of arbitration, "which would not come into any conflict with the Surgeon General or in conflict with education or in conflict with placement; but if there was any difference of opinion between us who were actively engaged in it, we would have by that means . . . a body of men who, with authority and with good sense and with the country behind them, would make us good fellows."

This suggestion may seem vague and impractical, and it has not been followed up, but it touches the heart of the whole matter—the necessity of a "vision" of the individual man as a man, whose life is a unit—and it shows an acute appreciation of the obstacle which has hindered a more rapid development of the work for the disabled soldier in every country—"jealousies" between different departments of government and conflict of authority.

Hon. Thomas B. Love, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in charge of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, proposed some formal amendments to Section 2 (quoted above, page 362), which would "eliminate some circumlocution" and "reduce the amount of paper work involved." The effect of them would be, he explained, "to provide that instead of the Bureau of Vocational Training requesting the Bureau of War Risk Insurance to order a man to take this course, the Bureau of Vocational Training would do it and advise us." Mr. Love had some doubts as to the efficacy of the "purely economic" control provided for in the bill, and was inclined to think that the man should not be discharged until he had taken his training. He also thought that

> there should be, if possible, some way of coordinating the so-called therapeutic treatment prior to the man's discharge from the army with the treatment after his discharge. . . . It has seemed to me there ought to be some way provided by which the work that is done by the Medical Department of the army before the man is discharged shall have more regard for the educational training of the man after he gets out than a doctor is likely

to think necessary. . . . The doctors . . . give him this vocational training as a matter of therapeutics, as a matter of interest to divert his mind and all that sort of thing. Now they can give him some fanciful work that would be diverting and answer every therapeutic purpose, which would be of no value as preparing him for a course of vocational training. . . . On the other hand they can, I believe, if they are properly advised by persons versed in vocational training, give him in lieu of these fanciful tasks work which will have the same therapeutic effect and at the same time inspire him with a desire to complete his vocational training after he gets out.

Most of the witnesses, contrary to the opinion of Mr. Love, thought that it would be a mistake to make training compulsory. The experience of foreign countries was quoted—not always, it must be admitted, with accuracy—in support of the belief that better results might be expected if the men were free to choose whether or not they would avail themselves of the courses offered. Mr. Kidner was an important ally on this point, for he could bear witness unreservedly to the success of the voluntary system in Canada. When the bill was rewritten in committee, at all events, the compulsory feature disappeared.

Members of the committees had received many letters urging the adoption of the amendment providing for "persons disabled in industry, or otherwise" which has been noticed in a preceding page. Several persons spoke for it at the hearing—one of the United States Employes' Compensation Commissioners, the Secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation, and the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, among others. Mr. Allen Walker, speaking for a committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, expressed the view that the question of providing for persons disabled in civil life was quite a different one, because of the conflicting State laws on workmen's compensation and the relations between the jurisdiction of the national and the State governments which would seem to be involved, and that it would be "a big enough job" for the present to provide for the men disabled in war. Mr. W. S. Gifford, director of the Council of National Defense, explained that the Council, feeling that it should consider only matters which could be regarded as war measures, had not thought it

proper to consider the proposed amendment relating to industrial cripples.

Mr. Little, of the Compensation Commission, made a good argument for legislation of a similar nature for the victims of industry, even if it should not be deemed wise to incorporate it as an amendment to the bill for soldiers and sailors, making a special point of the desirability of not allowing the facilities which will be developed for the men disabled in the war to stand idle or be disbanded before making it possible that those facilities should be used for other purposes. Mr. Meeker urged that the time was "ripe" for legislation providing for industrial cripples as well as for war cripples. "We are in a receptive mood," he said. "The people of the United States never knew a thing about industrial cripples. They did not know anything about war cripples until this present moment. They are now alive to the needs of making provision for war cripples. They could also be easily aroused to the necessity of taking care of the larger problem—larger in point of numbers, gentlemen, and much larger because we have the industrial cripple always with us."

While the committee manifested great sympathy with the object of the proposed amendment they felt that it would jeopardize the passage of the bill to include it. Some, furthermore, held that, while there could be no question that complete responsibility for the men disabled in the war rests upon the national government, the victims of industrial accidents should be provided for by State action.

There were many statements of the reasons why the Federal Board for Vocational Education was the appropriate body to be charged with the training of disabled soldiers and sailors, but practically no discussion of alternative possibilities. Mr. Prosser, the director of the board, was looked to for estimates of the number of disabled men who might be expected and of the cost of the undertaking. In view of the wide currency which his estimates have had, it is worth noticing how they were derived:

> Canada has sent about 250,000 men across the water. One per cent of 250,000 is 2,500; they have had about 2,400 men in training. That is where I

get my coefficient, that one per cent of the men overseas will need vocational rehabilitation.

If you had 1,000,000 men overseas, one per cent of them would each year become the subjects of vocational rehabilitation. If we had 1,000,000 men overseas engaged in the sort of warfare through which we are now passing, we would have in a calendar year 10,000 men to be trained. In two years there would be 20,000; in three years, 30,000.

But the 2,400 Canadians, who are approximately one per cent of the Canadian Expeditionary Force of 250,000, have not come back in "a calendar year," or any other kind of a year, but in a period ending with May, 1918, which is over three years. The correct coefficient, therefore, on the basis of the Canadian experience, would appear to be something like one-third of one per cent per year, instead of one per cent; and instead of 10,000 men to be trained each year, given a total force of 1,000,000, we should expect something like 3,500 (3,333, if we apply the coefficient exactly). If the total Canadian forces overseas are four or five hundred thousand, as frequently stated, instead of 250,000, the coefficient would need to be still further reduced.

For the estimates for his budget Mr. Prosser seems to abandon his own coefficient, for he assumes 10,000 men needing to be trained in the year ending July 1, 1919, which is less than one per cent of the military forces already abroad at the beginning of the fiscal year, to say nothing of those in the camps in America rapidly going across, and the naval forces on active duty. From the Canadian Commission an estimate was secured that the cost of vocational rehabilitation alone, cutting out the other expenses the commission meets, is perhaps between $180 and $200 per man. Two hundred dollars was then multiplied by 10,000, giving the figure of two million, which was adopted as "a safe figure for the first year under this measure." When asked by the chairman of the Senate committee to itemize the budget, Mr. Prosser says, "we did the very best we could." He thinks he should say, "in all fairness," that "it is only an estimate." The only basis he mentions for the distribution of the two million among the various items is "the experience of the

office [*i.e.*, the office of the Federal Board] in dealing with the funds under the Smith-Hughes Act."

As a start, and as a basis for the action of Congress, the figures used in the bill are probably as good as any others. But as "estimates" of what may be expected they are hardly entitled to the ready acceptance they have met, since, as Mr. Prosser stoutly affirmed at the close of his apologetic explanation of his statistical calculations:

> We do not know how many men will be injured across the sea, how many will be returned to the line, how many will be discharged from the service and proceed directly into their old occupation, how many will be able with very brief courses of training to return to work, how many will apply for training, how many will complete the courses of training. We do not know what this work will cost.

The bill was rewritten in committee and introduced again in identical form in House and Senate. The discussion in both houses was comparatively brief, and there was general satisfaction with the measure. There was no debate on the question of the importance of providing for reeducation; as there had been none when the principle was accepted earlier. As Senator Smith said: "The real question . . . is, How can we best do it? We all intend to do it. I have never met anyone in the Halls of Congress or outside who did not believe it was a national responsibility to provide the opportunity for rehabilitation to these men."

As finally passed, the "Vocational Rehabilitation Act" (approved June 27, 1918) transfers compulsion from the disabled soldier or sailor to the Board for Vocational Education. It provides

> Sec. 2. That every person who is disabled under circumstances entitling him, after discharge from the military or naval forces of the United States, to compensation under Article III of the act entitled . . . and who, after his discharge, in the opinion of the board,[1] is unable to carry on a gainful occupation, to resume his former occupation, or to enter upon some other occupation, or having resumed or entered upon such occupation is unable

[1] "Board" means the Federal Board for Vocational Education; and "bureau" the Bureau of War Risk Insurance.

to continue the same successfully, shall be furnished by the said board, where vocational rehabilitation is feasible, such course of vocational rehabilitation as the board shall prescribe and provide.

Every person "electing to follow" a course "shall, while following the same, receive monthly compensation equal to the amount of his monthly pay for the last month of his active service, or equal to the amount to which he would be entitled under Article III of said act, whichever amount is the greater." If he was an enlisted man his family shall receive compulsory allotment and family allowance, compensation to be treated as monthly pay for purposes of these computations if the man is receiving compensation. Expense of travel, lodging, subsistence, and other necessary expenses connected with the training may be met by the board. If any person wilfully fails or refuses to follow the prescribed course which he has elected to follow, in a manner satisfactory to the board, "the said board in its discretion may certify to that effect to the bureau and the said bureau shall, during such period of failure or refusal, withhold any part or all of the monthly compensation due such person and not subject to compulsory allotment which the said board may have determined should be withheld: *Provided, however,* That no vocational teaching shall be carried on in any hospital until the medical authorities certify that the condition of the patient is such as to justify such teaching."

This final proviso was inserted out of deference to the apprehensions of certain Senators who were of the opinion that "sick men are in no condition to have vocational training," and was intended to mean only that no patient is to receive instruction in a hospital until the doctor says he may.

The scope of the board's function with respect to the vocational rehabilitation of the disabled is comprehensively stated in Section 4:

That the board shall have the power and it shall be its duty to provide such facilities, instructors, and courses as may be necessary to insure proper training for such persons as are required to follow such courses as herein

provided; to prescribe the courses to be followed by such persons; to pay, when in the discretion of the board such payment is necessary, the expense of travel, lodging, subsistence, and other necessary expenses of such persons while following the prescribed courses; to do all things necessary to insure vocational rehabilitation; to provide for the placement of rehabilitated persons in suitable or gainful occupations.

In the placement of "rehabilitated persons" the board is "authorized and directed" to utilize the facilities of the Department of Labor "in so far as may be practicable." It is made the duty of the board "to make or cause to have made studies, investigations and reports" bearing on the training and placement of disabled persons. In doing this and in performing its other duties the board may cooperate with such public or private agencies as it may deem advisable.

It is stipulated that the "courses of vocational rehabilitation" shall be made available without cost for instruction, as far as practicable, to persons entitled to compensation who do not come within the group which the act has primarily in view—to disabled persons, that is, who, while not absolutely debarred by their injury from resuming their old occupation or taking up some other without special training, would nevertheless profit by such courses as are provided.

The vexed question of the relation between the military authorities and the Board for Vocational Education received fresh consideration in the Senate. Some Senators thought that the Surgeon General of the army was already doing just what was contemplated by the bill; the classes they had seen for themselves at Walter Reed and other hospitals were certainly giving men "vocational rehabilitation." A letter from the Surgeon General to the Judge Advocate General describing the army's policy for reconstruction was introduced into the debate. It contained the statement that "To carry on the necessary treatment in an efficient way, the Medical Department of the army must have full and undivided authority over the disabled soldier during the entire period required for his cure," and the assurance that "Such aid as may be offered from other sources" will

be welcomed by the Medical Department of the army "with the full and definite understanding that such aid will be rendered to the Medical Department of the army only upon the invitation of the Surgeon General." Another letter from General Gorgas to one of the Senators, written the very day of the discussion, said that he considered it would be "a mistake to enact this bill at this time concerning this matter," and that the Medical Department of the army already had ample authority to deal with the whole problem. The chairman of the committee in charge of the bill understood, however, that the Surgeon General had withdrawn his opposition, but later in the day the Senator to whom the letter had been addressed reported that the Surgeon General had told him that while he had consented to withdraw his objection, he was still of the opinion expressed in his letter.

An ingenious amendment was proposed, substituting "Office of the Surgeon General" throughout the bill for "board"; and another one, giving the responsibility to a board consisting of the Secretary of War, the Surgeon General of the army, and the Surgeon General of the navy. Neither of these suggestions prevailed, but there was an evident desire to make it perfectly clear that no infringement of the military domain was intended. Some indignation was felt, to be sure, that such a petty matter as the question of the department to be responsible should be allowed to delay the progress of the measure. It was "a great bill, . . . and here at the last moment comes a scrap in the Senate upon what particular officers shall have charge of it. . . . The President has the right to put it in one organization or another after we pass it. Why not leave it that way? . . . I would not dare to vote against this bill. I would feel disgraced forever if I voted against this bill. It would be inhuman to vote against this bill. Here we are, men with all our physical members, not one of them maimed, quarreling about who is going to enforce this very just measure!"

The provisions of the act which undertake to delimit the fields of military and civilian authority, and attempt at the same time to insure the harmonious cooperation between them which

had been emphasized as desirable in the hearings on the bill, are contained in Section 6:

> That all medical and surgical work or other treatment necessary to give functional and mental restoration to disabled persons prior to their discharge from the military or naval forces of the United States shall be under the control of the War Department and the Navy Department respectively. Whenever training is employed as a therapeutic measure by the War Department or the Navy Department a plan may be established between these agencies and the board acting in an advisory capacity to insure, in so far as medical requirements permit, a proper process of training and the proper preparation of instructors for such training. A plan may also be established between the War and Navy Departments and the board whereby these departments shall act in an advisory capacity with the board in the care of the health of the soldier and sailor after his discharge.
>
> The board shall, in establishing its plans and rules and regulations for vocational training, cooperate with the War Department and the Navy Department in so far as may be necessary to effect a continuous process of vocational training.

The propaganda in favor of including provision for persons disabled in industry in this bill had reached the individual members of the Senate, and had aroused considerable sympathy. It was suggested that they might try including the desired amendment, and "see if the House would accept it." The amendment was formally introduced, but it was rejected, though not without expression of the hope that "this idea will extend over the entire Republic in the near future," and the assertion that "ultimately we are bound not alone to rehabilitate the man who is injured in war, but we are bound as well to rehabilitate the man who is injured in industry."

The elimination of the compulsory feature was not allowed to pass unnoticed by those who thought that so important a matter ought not to be left to the choice of the man. When this subject was broached there were "seven Senators on the floor," "four Senators on the floor," at once, desiring to speak, either for or against it. The same paternal disposition which had led to a rejection of the provision allowing commutation of part of the compensation inclined the hearts of many toward making it impossible for a man who needs training to escape it. In this

case, however, it did not prevail, probably because of the testimony which had been presented that better results are obtained under a voluntary system.

The budget which the director of the Federal Board had constructed—under the difficulties which he described to the committee—was passed. The two million dollars are distributed as follows:

For buildings and equipment for instruction	$250,000
For preparation of instructors and salaries of teaching staff	545,000
For traveling and other expenses of disabled persons following prescribed courses	250,000
For tuition in existing institutions	545,000
For placement and supervision after placement	45,000
For studies, investigations, reports and preparation of special courses of instruction	55,000
For miscellaneous contingencies, including mechanical appliances needed for special cases	110,000
For administrative expenses	200,000

Although this budget was allowed to stand as it had been introduced, the familiar complaint was heard that too little of the money was destined for the soldier and too much for the salaries of "clerks, assistants, specialists, teachers, and the multitude of parasites that hang around" the departments of the government.

A clause authorizing the board "to receive such gifts and donations from either public or private sources as may be offered unconditionally" brought the Socialist representative from New York City to his feet: "The reservoir of the conscience of the nation . . . should not be replenished through private charity." There were not many, however, who felt such scruples.

The word "rehabilitation" was not altogether acceptable in either house. One of the Senators objected to it on the ground that "you can't rehabilitate a man into something that he has not possessed at some time previously," and suggested that "training" more nearly expressed the intention of the measure. Members of the House, also, thought that "training" was the better word. "There has been a strong tendency in writing some of this legislation to use the largest words possible to be used. 'Rehabilitation' is rolled around under the tongues of

the 'high-brows' who started this bill, but there is no particular sense in using that word all through it, and it does not mean 'rehabilitating' except perhaps in the beginning, in the title, but means training, and I think the shorter word really ought to be used." Such counsels of simplicity, unfortunately, did not prevail, and the act in its final form is sprinkled thickly with "courses of vocational rehabilitation" and, what is worse, "vocationally rehabilitated persons."

In the House there was great interest in the bill, but not much debate. Members of the House who had recently returned from their trip to Europe were able to tell of things they had seen in the hospitals over there: how a doctor brought in a wounded soldier and said to him, "H., here is a crowd of American Congressmen; I want you to walk down through the shop and see if they can tell which of your legs is wooden," and how some of them said it was the left, and some the right, but it turned out that both were. The Canadian motion picture film was shown in the House Office Building one evening while the bill was under consideration. There was genuine enthusiasm over the idea of restoring disabled men to usefulness and happiness, and genuine satisfaction in "the cycle of the work of this government from the selecting of men for service to putting them back into industrial and social life after they shall have made their sacrifice."

Some time was spent in a discussion of the exact meaning of the word "vocation," to determine whether or not the bill could be interpreted to cover training for a profession as well as for agriculture or industry. A decision of the Supreme Court of Nebraska was cited, in which "vocation" is defined as "an employment, occupation, calling, trade, including professions as well as mechanical occupations." The consensus of opinion was that while "vocation" does have such a meaning, "vocational" in connection with "education" is more restricted, in common usage, and is limited to "all matters of business and all matters that apply to manual occupations of any kind." This did not prevent some members from feeling that the benefits of the

measure should extend to students of law, theology, medicine, chemistry, and so on. "I think that a young man returned from this war with his arm shot off, or with the loss of a leg, or otherwise crippled, who feels that he is called upon to preach, ought to be aided by the government in that work." They would "make such preachers as the world has never seen or heard before," and they would make equally superior doctors and lawyers and school teachers. It was predicted that such men would have no difficulty in getting free tuition in any professional school in the United States, and that it was not necessary to modify the bill to provide for them.

With the passing of this act Section 304 of the act of October 6, 1917, was repealed, and the theory of compulsory reeducation which it enunciated was abandoned.

Mr. Kidner, the vocational secretary of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission of Canada, who had been of great service in the hearings before the committee and in advising those who were responsible for the form our legislation should take, has been loaned to the Federal Board by the Canadian Government to assist in organizing our system.

The Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men

It is due to private interest, not to government action, that there is already in operation in New York City an institution for the reeducation and rehabilitation of disabled men. In May, 1917, Mr. Jeremiah Milbank of New York, who had been for some time identified with the Charity Organization Society of the city, decided upon an institution for this purpose as the object to which he would like to devote a part of his contribution to the work of the war. He offered the sum of $50,000 to the American Red Cross for the foundation of such an institution, together with the use of the upper floors of the building at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third Street.

Pending final arrangements with the Red Cross, and while the building was being put in order, the work was carried on in

the offices of the New York School of Philanthropy, which contributed also a considerable amount of service and supplies through the summer. Expenses of the preliminary investigations, except for these items, were met by Mr. Milbank, without encroaching upon the amount which he had offered to the Red Cross.

The preliminary investigations included a study of over three hundred recently crippled men in the City of New York, in order to find out how men who are crippled in every-day life readjust themselves, what resources are available for them and what they most need that is not available. The results of this study have been given in Chapter III. Another inquiry which it was obviously desirable to make was a study of the methods which have been adopted by the belligerent countries. For this purpose personal investigation was made of the work in Canada and Great Britain, and arrangements were made with Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie for the preparation of a series of reports from documentary sources on the systems of the principal countries. With Mr. McMurtrie's assistance, also, the collection of a special library was begun. Dr. I. M. Rubinow was engaged to make an estimate, in so far as that was possible from the meager data available, of the number of disabled men who might be expected in an army of a given size. Conferences were held with experts in vocational education and officials of trade unions, and correspondence was initiated with a large number of individuals who are interested in this subject from one angle or another. For advice in planning for trade classes, the services of Mr. Charles H. Winslow were secured, and a tentative scheme was mapped out for the use of the building which was to be at the disposal of the Institute, including classes in machineshop practice, monotype operating, photography and lathe work. The experience of all the employment bureaus in the city which had paid attention to the problems of cripples was examined (see page 62) and visits were made to a considerable number of employers in a variety of occupations, to discover what their attitude was likely to be in regard to employing disabled soldiers.

Plans were under consideration also for extensive educational propaganda, including substantial publications, inexpensive circulars, lectures, and an exhibit at the Institute of prosthetic appliances. As one feature of this publicity, a large number of letters was collected from individual cripples, describing their personal experiences in overcoming their handicap; and it was planned to publish these—classified according to the nature of the injury—in attractive little books which could be distributed to injured men while in the hospital for the purpose of rousing their hope and ambition.

In September the Institute was fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie, who had for a number of years been identified with organizations for the welfare of cripples in this city and had made it his avocation to know about all the work for cripples which was being done anywhere in the world. Under Mr. McMurtrie's leadership the plans which had been laid in the summer—and with which he had been in touch—have been vigorously developed, and new activities are added almost from day to day. During the summer of 1918, for example, a training class for directors of training for disabled soldiers, including a four weeks' tour in Canada, was conducted in cooperation with the Federal Board.

The Institute occupies the upper floors of the building at 311 Fourth Avenue, the northwest corner of Twenty-third Street, which was originally built for the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University and occupied by it during the years when some of the orthopedic specialists of today were taking their medical courses. The building has many attractive features and is in many respects well adapted to the uses which it is now serving. The work of the Institute is under the direction of a committee of the War Council of the American Red Cross, and is a national activity in the Department of Military Relief. The committee is composed of: Lieutenant Colonel C. H. Connor, chairman; Jeremiah Milbank, vice chairman; Major Sidney Burnap, U. S. R.; Dr. Richard M. Pearce; and Douglas C. McMurtrie.

In view of the pioneer character of this institution in the United States and the unusual opportunities which it has had in certain respects its work is of special interest. It can best be described by quoting from a prospectus prepared by the director, issued in May, 1918, before the passage of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act:

While the establishment of the Institute was inspired by a desire to build up reeducational facilities which might be of value to the crippled soldiers and sailors of the American forces, it was felt that the problem of the crippled man was a broad one, and in need of attention without discrimination in benefits between civilian and military subjects. It was further felt that the only sound preparation to deal intelligently with the rehabilitation of crippled men at a future date was actual experience in the rehabilitation of crippled men undertaken at the present moment.

. . . It is planned that the work of the Institute in the vocational rehabilitation of crippled men shall be permanent, for it must be borne in mind that the problem of the industrial cripple is greater, numerically considered, than that of the crippled soldier.

The Institute has no official arrangement with the national authorities relative to the utilization of its facilities in the reconstruction of war cripples. . . . The present effort is solely to make our facilities worth offering, at a time when other plans exist on paper alone.

Educational Department. . . . The candidate for training is interviewed by two or more persons who assess his physical disability, inquire into his educational acquirements and work history, and endeavor to ascertain his tastes and aptitudes. It is the policy of the educational department to have the counsel and advice of members of the staff and others who have been similarly handicapped and who know from experience the physical limitations of that particular form of disablement.

The occupations to be taught disabled men are being selected on various considerations: (1) Its suitability for handicapped persons; (2) the length of time required for training; (3) the standard of wages in the industry; (4) the demand for workers and the prospects of employment; (5) the attitude of the trade toward apprentices.

. . . In the case of disabled soldiers, their maintenance will be supplied by the government. But in other cases the Institute will have to supply a minimum maintenance to the man during his period of training. In necessitous cases, this is supplied from a special fund in the form of a loan without interest. There is no obligation to repay this loan unless the training improves the man's earning power, in which case he is expected to pay back the loan in instalments proportioned to the increase in his wages. It is thought important to make this advance in the form of a loan so as to conserve, to the greatest possible degree, the man's self-respect, and to obviate the idea of charity.

It is expected that in some classes work of a productive nature will be done. In such cases, when a man's work proves to be of commercial value, he will receive credit for the work done either as an offset to his maintenance allowance or in the form of pecuniary profits. When a man completes the course of training, he will either be taken on as a worker and paid wages or sent to some shop and placed in employment.

Four trades have already been decided upon, equipment installed, and instruction begun: the manufacture of artificial limbs, oxyacetylene welding, mechanical drafting, and operation of the monotype caster. Among the other trades which are under consideration are dental mechanics, automobile repair, photographic technique, and commercial training for office employment.

Department of Field Work. An important feature in the work of a reeducational school is getting in touch with prospective pupils at the earliest possible date. . . . The principal field activity at present is persistent visiting of the city hospitals by a social worker experienced in dealing with cripples. This worker gets in touch with maimed men immediately after amputation has been performed, gains their friendship and confidence, stimulates their courage, and plans with them their future program of training or employment. . . .

Another activity of this department is the conduct of a series of "parties" for cripples—the object of which is to hearten and encourage the handicapped men who are losing out by bringing them in touch with the cripples who have overcome their obstacles. The first gathering of this sort was nothing short of inspiring. Over two hundred cripples were invited, and over seventy-five came, although the evening was one of the coldest of the winter. . . . The influence of the meeting was reflected immediately in an increase of applications to the employment bureau for work and to the educational department for admission to the industrial classes. The experiment was a vivid demonstration that no one can encourage a cripple so effectively as another cripple.

The second meeting was . . . even more inspiriting. It was addressed by two men, one of whom has lost both arms, the other lacking one arm and both legs. There were shown for the first time three moving pictures, planned and photographed by Captain Arthur Samuels, of the Surgeon General's office. Each illustrated how seriously handicapped cripples overcome their obstacles. Between pictures there were short talks to the crippled audience by crippled speakers. . . .

The "cripple parties" are an assured success and will be continued as a permanent institution.

Employment Department. . . . One of the successful efforts (already in existence) was a small employment bureau for cripples which was established by the Federation of Association for Cripples in cooperation with Hudson

Guild.[1] At the time the Institute was established, this bureau had been in operation a little over a year. As its work, however, led directly along the line of the reeducational program and as the bureau was handicapped by lack of facilities, it was taken over by the Institute. This early experience proved a splendid foundation on which to base the more extensive activities now under operation.

. . . Experience of the first three months has clearly shown that there are a great many crippled men out of work who are anxious for advice and employment. Two hundred and twenty cripples, applying for work, have been registered during this three-month period. These men have been referred to 355 positions and 123 placements have been definitely made. The aim is to secure positions which will be permanent and constructive, rather than merely to place large numbers of men.

After a cripple has been placed, there is made a real effort to keep in touch with him. Occasionally his home is visited and, in some cases, the employer is interviewed after the man has been employed about a month. One evening office hour is held each week and the most effective follow-up work is done at that time. At a recent evening office hour thirteen men called to report how they were getting along at their jobs.

There is being made an industrial survey in order to discover what are the best opportunities for cripples in the industrial field. . . . In each industry the field worker visits the manufacturers' association, the trade union secretary, the trade journal editor, and a number of typical factories. The facts gained in these investigations are checked or neutralized by the experiences in these trades of the crippled workers, careful record of which is also kept. . . . Some important responsibilities in this work have been assumed by the Committee of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, which is working with the Red Cross Institute. . . .

The Library. The present library is made up of the private collection of literature concerning cripples gathered during the last eight years by Douglas C. McMurtrie and by additions of the later material which have been acquired by the Institute since its establishment. The collection contains every item relating to cripples which it has been possible to obtain either by purchase, gift or exchange during the last eight years, and every care has been expended to make it as complete as possible. It can safely be said that the present library constitutes the largest collection in the world dealing with this subject. . . . It consists of approximately 3,500 separate books, pamphlets, reports and articles in periodicals. . . .

There has . . . been prepared a bibliography of the war cripple and supplements listing the current publications will be issued at frequent intervals. Over 1,600 items relating to the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers and sailors have already been indexed.

Research Department. . . . The first necessity was to learn the experiences of others. . . . The first effort was to locate all the centers on the continent, in Great Britain and Canada, at which reeducational work was in

[1] See above, page 64.

progress. Correspondence with the officials directing this work was immediately instituted, every available item of printed matter was collected, and photographs and illustrative material obtained.

The next move was to study the materials so gathered. . . . Among the reports already prepared and issued are publications describing work in Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand, Germany and Italy.

Public Education. In the rehabilitation of disabled men, an absolute essential is cooperation on the part of the public. . . . The Institute has accepted its share of responsibility in this field and has inaugurated educational effort through a variety of channels. . . . A news service to the daily press, sent out about once a week, has been instituted, and it has been found that the material has very generally been utilized. . . . There are also sent out to a special list of editorial writers, suggestions as to comment which would be helpful to the cause of the cripple. . . . A related activity has consisted in writing "letters to the editor" purposed for publication in the daily press throughout the country. . . .

Articles (for periodicals) on any particular phase of reeducational work for cripples are prepared on request. . . . In an effort to reach directly the workers and employers in as many industries as possible, there have been prepared, for the trade journals, a series of articles. . . . The Institute has gathered an extensive collection of photographs illustrating reeducational work in all the belligerent countries. This now numbers over three hundred subjects. . . . From the most interesting subjects in the photographic collection have been made sets of lantern slides. . . . The Institute is also building up a collection of moving picture films illustrating the work of reeducational centers in other countries, or showing successful cripples in action.

With interest in reconstruction work growing apace, the demand for speakers to discuss the subject before conventions and meetings of one type or another has been frequent. . . . Engagements have been filled in Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, New Haven and Providence, in addition to numerous appointments in New York and vicinity. In order to take the initiative in arranging for discussion of reeducation for crippled and disabled men before a larger number of audiences, there is being organized, in cooperation with the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, a speakers' bureau. Volunteers will be recruited. They will be trained in a study course on rehabilitation work before being assigned to speaking engagements.

The prospectus ends with the statement that its principal purpose is "to interpret the problem of the military and industrial cripple as we have seen it, to indicate how some of the preliminary questions have been decided, and to describe the methods and manner of attack on the citadel of our intention."

The Home Service of the American Red Cross

The English *War Pensions Gazette,* commenting on our system of financial provisions for the soldiers and sailors in the present war and their families, has "one word of criticism." "However perfect the machinery may be, it is almost inconceivable that it may not break down in certain individual cases, and that it may be found necessary to have some scheme for advancing money to wives or to discharged men should this occur," and to meet other needs which can not well be covered in the government's provisions. Such an agency exists in the American Red Cross, with its 22,000,000 members, its 3,900 chapters and their 15,000 branches, which through its "Home Service" is organized to supplement the official provisions for the families of the men in the service—not merely by meeting temporary financial needs, such as our English critic foresaw, but by standing ready to act as friend or adviser in any of the difficulties and perplexities which may arise during the absence of the husband or son or father, whenever a desire for such service is indicated.

This relation between the Red Cross and the families of the soldiers and sailors will not cease abruptly upon the man's discharge from the service, writes the director general of the Department of Civilian Relief,[1] but will continue until he is "adequately reestablished in civilian life." A hundred page pamphlet has been published by the Red Cross, in order to give to Home Service workers information about the program of the government for the care of disabled men, about the needs of those disabled in different ways, and to define the ways in which the Red Cross may supplement the work of the government. In this pamphlet the duties of Home Service in relation to the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers and sailors is summarized as follows:

(1) To bring solidly behind the disabled man at all stages of the reconstruction process the moral support of his family, remembering that he is

[1] W. Frank Persons, in the Foreword to *Home Service and the Disabled Soldier or Sailor,* by Curtis E. Lakeman. Publication A. R. C. 210.

at this time just as much in the service of his country as when at the front.

(2) To assist the men, through the competent legal service at the command of the Home Service Section, to secure the benefits of the War Risk Insurance Law, and especially the provisions for compensation and insurance.

(3) To urge upon disabled men, as opportunity presents, the wisdom and necessity of taking full advantage of the government's plans for their care and training.

(4) To encourage them in the early and critical stages of their vocational training and of their return to employment, when the struggle to overcome the mental and physical handicap is most acute.

(5) To help bring about a reasonable and sympathetic attitude on the part of employers, which shall give every handicapped man a real chance, while avoiding the danger of tempting him to forego the necessary training for the specious attraction of an immediate, temporary or perhaps unsuitable job.

(6) To mold public opinion so that it will discountenance trivial and demoralizing entertainment and hero-worship, and maintain a constructive attitude which, while demanding a square deal for the returned soldier, shall expect from him every reasonable effort to insure his self-support.

(7) To supply information, encouragement, legal, medical, and business advice, and other service, when acceptable and necessary, in like manner as is now being done for the families of men at the front.

PART IV—THE NEW PROGRAM

CHAPTER IX

General Characteristics

From the very beginning of the present war it was evident that the methods of the past in providing for disabled men would not be tolerable. Even if there had been no change in public opinion about handicapped members of society in general, the enormous numbers of young and able-bodied men who were suddenly maimed in one way or another created a situation which former ideas and former wasteful methods were inadequate to meet. We could not afford to lose so much man power, and we could not afford to carry the burden of so much dependence.

A pension, even if generous, would do nothing toward replacing the serious loss of labor power. To provide "homes" in sufficient quantity to house the invalided soldiers and sailors of the present war would be difficult, even if it had not come to be considered, as Dr. Bourrillon expresses it, "profoundly immoral" to doom men in the prime of life or the very dawn of maturity to a life of inaction. To leave so many men to get a living for the next forty or fifty years by begging on the public streets was out of the question. The development of the system of compensation for industrial accidents, moreover, and the experiments of social economy here and there in trying to meet the needs of different classes of physically handicapped persons in civil life, together with the growing popularity of the ideas of "conservation" and "efficiency" applied to all sorts of human relations, had all contributed to prepare the public mind for a radically new attitude toward the men who should be disabled in the present war.

Economic considerations, military necessity, and humanity combined to develop a new ideal. It consists, in two words, of the completest possible physical restoration of every man who is wounded or stricken by illness in the service, and his completest possible reestablishment in normal civil life as a producer and contributor rather than as a helpless and parasitic dependent. This is not to say that all can be so restored and so reestablished. There is no advantage in blinking the fact that a certain number will be physical wrecks, for whom permanent care must be provided, but this is a relatively small number of all the disabled.

In every one of the countries extensively engaged in the war, the program which has been evolved for the care of their disabled men has been based on this ideal. Each nation has gone at the business in its own characteristic way, and in each country the development has been influenced by existing institutions, by existing prejudices and traditions as to the proper sphere for legislation and state activity and as to the most effective and suitable way of accomplishing results, and by competing demands of the war on the financial resources and creative thought of the nation. While each nation has shown a desire to profit by the experience of others, there seems to have been little outright copying. The problem seems to have been regarded as too large and too serious to permit the adoption of second-hand ideas and methods unless they were proved to be applicable to the home situation. The problem itself, however, has given rise to the same questions and considerations in every country, and the resulting programs are strikingly similar in their essential features. There are more similarities than differences. It may be said, in fact, that there is now "a" program, whose main outline is visible in all the belligerent countries.

Reduced to lowest terms, the elements in the new program for disabled men are three: (1) medical and surgical treatment, including functional reeducation and provision of the desirable prosthesis; (2) a money payment—pension or "compensation," as you prefer—usually in the form of an annuity for life, in recognition of the sacrifice of health or limb which has been

made in the service; and (3) assistance in resuming an independent position in social or economic life, including mental and moral preparation, reeducation for earning a living, if necessary, and help in finding employment or in becoming an independent proprietor of a business or a farm. The first part of the program affects all who are injured in any way, those who recover entirely as well as those who are permanently incapacitated; the second, those whose injuries result in a specified degree of permanent disability; the third, only those whose permanent disability is of such a degree and nature as to make unaided resumption of normal life difficult.

In theory there is nothing new in the first or the second of these elements. The sick and wounded of this war have an immense advantage over those of other wars, but not because it is a new idea that they should have the best treatment available; it is because the best available is infinitely better than it ever was before. The idea of a gratuity or a pension from a grateful country as a token of appreciation to those who give health or limb in her service is not new; only the amount now deemed appropriate, and the basis on which that amount shall be determined. The really new element is in the general acceptance of the idea that a man, even though lame or blind or deaf or burdened with a racing heart or scarified lung tissue, may still—ordinarily—lead a productive life and be a contributing member of society. Even this is not an absolutely new idea, for there have always been individuals who believed it; but it has only now become incorporated in national policies.

Some enthusiastic prophets of the new doctrine go to such lengths as to seem to intimate that it is a real disadvantage to have the full complement of corporal members and senses, that a man's life only begins to reach par value when he has some disabling accident. Such exaggeration is a natural incident to the propagation of a new idea, and even the exaggeration has its foundation of truth. It is true that the misfortune may be made an occasion for developing latent powers, formerly ignored or not even suspected, but capable of lifting the whole individual

to a higher plane. Most of us go through life content with only a superficial cultivation of our capacities, or at best an intensive cultivation in only a few spots, according as the circumstances surrounding us supply goads and incentives. The human individual has so varied an assortment of endowments, and modern human society can utilize such fragments of ability, that almost everyone has reserve possibilities upon which to draw. Even "half-men," much more three-quarter men and ninety per cent men, can be as useful as they were when they were whole, and some can be more useful than they were. It must necessarily be, however, by the exercise of a larger proportion of the total powers which remain to them, and that is to say, by greater effort. To claim that physical disability has positive advantages over integrity and health of body would be chimerical; but it is certain, on the other hand, that it need not mean disaster in as many cases as it has hitherto, and that it may be made the occasion for tapping the reserves of will and energy which lie below the surface, ready for such an emergency, and for the transfer of activity, in many cases, to powers of a higher grade than those upon which reliance has previously been placed for the needs of life.

It is noticeable that in all the countries of the Allies this matter of providing for the soldiers and sailors disabled in the war has received an amount of attention proportionate to its gravity, in legislative councils, in public discussion, and in private philanthropic effort. It has enlisted men of notable ability, at a time when the demand for ability was far in excess of the available supply. There has been an unusual disposition to examine not only the experience of other countries but also the working of measures adopted at home, to treat them as tentative, to be modified and amplified as found desirable. This admirable attitude, stimulated no doubt by great freedom of criticism on the part of the many persons directly concerned and others impersonally interested, has resulted in such kaleidoscopic changes of organization in most of the countries that it is not an easy matter to tell their history. Everywhere the development of

measures and theories has been characterized by an unusually broad and disinterested point of view. Physicians, legislators, educators, social workers, men of affairs, have all made their contribution and have learned from one another. While each professional group has naturally been tenacious of its own convictions, there has been no more intolerance than is easily comprehensible, and the resulting program is the richer for the conflicting elements when they are reduced to harmony.

An astonishing amount of "literature" has sprung up to express and spread the new ideas and to describe the new institutions and the new laws. Most of it centers about the problems of cripples, for reasons which have been indicated in a previous chapter: because they are the most numerous group of the disabled; because they are the most conspicuous type, so that the *mutilé* is a sort of symbol of all the other disabled soldiers; and because there is more novelty in the program for cripples than in that for blind or deaf or tuberculous or neurasthenic. A bibliography on the war cripple alone, published in January, 1918,[1] contains about a thousand titles, although no references on the subject of pensions are included, and none which are strictly medical in character. Even allowing for a large amount of duplication in the way of articles reprinted in several places and in translations this represents an exceptionally rapid development. Probably the bulk has been doubled by this time, and if to books and articles on war cripples were added those dealing with other forms of disability incurred in the present war and with the general subject of pension legislation and administration it would be still further increased. Some of the most interesting discussion is hidden away in legislative debates. Several special periodicals have already been established, devoted entirely to the problems of disabled soldiers and sailors, and an international conference of all the Allied nations has been organized, which has held two annual sessions and now maintains a permanent committee with headquarters in Paris.

[1] Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, Series I, No. 1.

While the systems which have been adopted by the principal countries have so much in common that we are justified in referring to a universal program, this essential uniformity has not been reached without much difference of opinion along the way on many questions, and even now the different countries show interesting variation in details. The question as to how much of the responsibility for the new program should be assumed by the national government, and how the responsibility the government does assume should be divided between its military and civilian arms; the point at which compulsion over the individual man should cease; the proper basis for pensions; the relation of disabled men to normal workmen in the labor market; to say nothing of the multitude of technical and administrative problems connected with prosthesis, functional reeducation, and education for a new occupation, have been the occasion of vigorous argument in every country.

CHAPTER X

Physical Restoration

The first main division of the program for the care of disabled men can be adequately discussed only by physicians and sanitarians, but it is at least appropriate in a study from the social point of view to recognize the place which it occupies in the general scheme and the aspects of interest to the lay public.

To exaggerate the importance of the medical and surgical treatment which is supplied for the sick and wounded is hardly possible. Upon the organization of the service and upon the skill and judgment of the individual physicians and surgeons, more than on any other one factor, depend the proportion of fatalities and the condition in which those who survive will spend the rest of their lives. No amount of "reeducation" or sympathetic encouragement and assistance in finding a new niche in life can compensate for an unnecessarily stiffened knee or elbow or for the loss of an eye or a hand that might have been saved.

One has only to spend a few hours with the current files of the medical journals—if unable to follow the doctors and see what they are doing—to realize the responsibility which rests upon the medical profession, individually and collectively, for the future welfare of the men in our armed forces. The endurance and devotion shown by surgeons in dressing-stations at the front, where they operate on one *blessé* after another, often under conditions which seem intolerable, have become well known. The less picturesque but equal devotion and the patience of those who are in the hospitals at the rear and in the institutions for long continued treatment and convalescence, are no less deserving of appreciation. The most impressive note in the discussions by medical men themselves, however, is not com-

mendation of sacrifices but insistence on the need for quick action and sure judgment. Again and again, in one kind of injury after another, those who have had experience with many cases, whether at the front or in the rear where the consequences of delay become apparent, emphasize the importance of "immediate" or "prompt" or "early" application of this treatment or that, if the use of the member is to be saved, if a degree of vision is to be kept, if death from infection is to be prevented, and so on. Decisions must be made under great pressure, and frequently the consequences of a mistake are irreparable.

In the main, responsibility for the physical treatment of men disabled in the war has been assumed in all countries by the national government and entrusted by the government to the military authorities. Physical care until discharge from the army or navy is of course everywhere in the hands of the army and navy. The point at which discharge takes place varies. Theoretically everywhere the object is to restore the sick and wounded to the fighting line, or to subsidiary service somewhere in the military organization, but standards as to the degree of fitness required for active duty and as to the extent to which partially disabled men can be utilized in subsidiary ways seems to vary in the different countries and even in the same country with changes in the demands of the situation. Everywhere, also, the desire is to give even those who will not be of any further assistance anywhere in the military organization the best possible care and to discharge them only when they have been restored to their maximum of physical efficiency. In practice, however, it has been found necessary to compromise between this desire and the exigencies of military necessity, and while in general the desire is much more nearly fulfilled than it was at the beginning of the war it is nowhere literally realized. Men suffering from disabilities requiring "prolonged" treatment, such as neurasthenia and tuberculosis, as well as those who are incurable, are usually discharged when their condition has reached a "definitive" stage, but the United States army officials have announced their intention to care for them until cured, or as nearly cured as

the nature of the disability permits, and is providing "ample facilities," in the judgment of the National Tuberculosis Association, for sanatorium treatment of those who may develop tuberculosis. The disadvantage of continued military control in some types of cases has also been a factor in some countries in modifying the rigid application of the theory that no one shall be discharged while still in need of medical treatment. For those who need further treatment after discharge, the nation also recognizes responsibility, but such treatment is provided through civilian departments of the government—either new ones created for the purpose, or else those which before the war met this responsibility for the civilian population.

Policy as to discharge—the interpretation of such terms as "cured" or "incurable" or "prolonged"—not only varies in different countries, but is of necessity everywhere more or less variable at different periods, according as the pressure for space for acute cases in the hospitals varies with the military operations.

Functional reeducation for the amputated and the lame, as well as the corresponding training needed by the blind and the deaf and by nervous cases which do not require too long a course of treatment, is included in the obligation of the military authorities and is provided before discharge. The provision of any artificial appliances which are needed also takes place before discharge, under the supervision of the military authorities, and is a charge on the nation. Civilian branches of the government are sometimes associated with the military in this service, as in England, where the expense of the apparatus and of the maintenance of the men while in the fitting hospitals is borne by the Pensions Department.

Two subjects of special interest in connection with the physical treatment of disabled men are prosthesis and functional reeducation. Both have received a great development during the present war and have attracted much attention from the general public because of their importance in the restoration of the men who lose a member or the use of any part of the body.

Prosthesis

Artificial legs and arms and eyes were used before the present war, but—strange as it now seems—there had been little collaboration between anatomist and surgeon and the manufacturers of such appliances.[1] The progress which had been made was rather the result of commercial competition than of the application of scientific knowledge. The best models of limbs had been developed in America, possibly because of the demand created by the Civil War, and in Denmark and Germany. England and France relied largely on importations. Italian boys prayed to the Madonna for "an American leg," and it may be remembered that one of Marshal Joffre's aides, on his visit to the United States, liked to claim that he was "part American," because of his wooden leg. The world's supply was distressingly inadequate for the situation created by the war, and the number of men who had been trained in the trade was equally out of proportion to the need. American workmen scattered to Canada and to the belligerent countries of Europe, and the output of American factories was at a premium.

It was already customary in most countries for the nation to supply whatever apparatus was needed by a disabled soldier, whether prosthetic or orthopedic, and to replace it and keep it in order for the rest of his life. The number of such cases, however, had not been large enough to call forth special attention, and it was done for the most part in a perfunctory manner. In our own country the veterans had nearly always taken advantage of the privilege which they enjoy to commute their claim into a money payment. From the very beginning of the present war it was obvious that the existing methods would not be satisfactory. The number of amputations made it necessary that more pains should be taken to insure good results and the best expendi-

[1] An interesting statement of the conditions in the trade before the war, together with a full discussion of the principles involved in the construction of artificial legs and descriptions of French and American types, is contained in *Principles of Design and Construction of Artificial Legs*, by Captain Philip Wilson, U. S. R., Series II, No. 2, of the Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men.

ture of the large sums of money involved. Responsibility for selecting the apparatus was placed where it naturally belongs—on the orthopedic surgeons who had the men under care—and they were thus forced to study the subject as they never had done before. The embarrassing scarcity of apparatus on the market was perhaps not an unmixed evil, for it allowed freedom of choice and stimulated the production of improved models.

The result has been that "prosthesis"—a better word might be "prosthetics"—has been transformed and elevated into a department of surgery, with great advantage to all who may in the future need its services. The significance of this transformation is expressed as follows by Captain Wilson, in the publication above referred to:

> Prosthesis, in its legitimate desire to secure the maximum efficiency from an amputation stump, is concerned with everything that is going to have any influence upon this result. It, therefore, is concerned first of all with the amputation itself, with giving the surgeon the knowledge of what the fitter of an artificial limb requires of a stump, so that the combined efforts of surgeon and fitter may obtain better results than they have been able to obtain in the past working separately. Following the amputation, prosthesis is concerned with the after-treatment in order to prevent all complications or deformities that will tend to decrease functional efficiency. It is concerned with all apparatus which in any way will hasten the completion of the period of treatment. It is concerned with research into the functions which must be replaced so that it may provide the most efficient substitutes. It is concerned with the profession that the maimed man is going to follow in order that he may have the apparatus which will best serve his needs. It is concerned with the perfection and invention of forms of apparatus which may render better service than the old, and their proper fitting. In short, it can not be indifferent to anything that will have a bearing upon the future usefulness of the maimed.

Without going into the fascinating technical questions outside the field of social economy—of the treatment which the stump needs to prepare it for the highest possible degree of use; the advantages of different types of appliances; the differences in the demands of the upper and lower limbs and of amputations of either arms or legs at different points; the qualities required in provisional appliances and at what moment they should be prescribed; when the injured limb is ready for its "definitive" ap-

pliance, and so on—we may at least notice the conclusions reached at the Inter-Allied Conference in 1917 (by Drs. Rieffel and Gourdon, physicians in chief of the Centres d'Appareillage of Paris and Bordeaux) that the utility of an artificial limb depends on "a series of factors inherent in the nature of the stump, in the apparatus, and in the character of the individual," and that it is of the utmost importance that each case should receive individual study of its condition and its needs.

Invention of new models of artificial limbs has been encouraged by prizes and exhibitions and discussion, as well as by the stimulus of the situation, and their number is uncounted—"a new one every day," says Dr. Broca. Some of the most practical ideas have come from disabled soldiers themselves, peasants and workmen, notably the "Keller arm" in Germany. The tendency is toward favoring simplicity of construction, and toward choosing utility in preference to appearance when they conflict, as they frequently do. Complicated apparatus is more expensive in the first place; it is more likely to get out of order and to be difficult to repair; and is not favored by the men themselves because they find it discouraging. "Never have I been so painfully conscious of my infirmity as in trying this arm," said one who had received a much advertised machine of springs and joints. The comfort of having a normal appearance is not disregarded by any means, and the ideal prosthesis is considered to be one which replaces both "form and function" of the lost member, but when it is necessary to make a choice looks must be sacrificed to a good functional result. Thus we find enlarged soles for ease in walking on plowed ground; and the "bras de parade" or "Sunday arm" has fallen into disfavor except as a luxury for dress occasions or for the use of salesmen or of men in other occupations where appearance is an important factor in economic efficiency, while in its stead some contrivance to which tools of different kinds may be attached is more popular, or different contrivances, adapted to different occupations. Official Italy seems to be an exception to this common tendency, for it is reported that the limbs supplied by the War Depart-

ment are of the "esthetic" variety, and that the providing of appliances needed for work is left to the schools of reeducation.

Another tendency which is noticeable among those who have had the most experience, is care in not exaggerating what may be expected. No artificial substitute can be as satisfactory as the original member, and only disillusion and discouragement are in store for the man who expects more than is reasonable, or who expects any good result without effort on his own part. Many surgeons and educators feel, with Dr. Bourrillon, that more is to be gained by developing other members, and especially by stimulating and developing the mental faculties, than by expending effort in trying to replace by an artificial device the part of the body which has been lost. Some go so far in their indifference to artificial limbs as not to insist on the use of the "appareils de travail" to fit a man for his old occupation. MM. de Paeuw, Nyns, Basèque and Alleman were in accord on this point at the Inter-Allied Conference. "Ah!" said M. de Paeuw, "si l'on pouvait attacher un mécanicien á la personne de chacun des 'appareillés,' la chose serait admissible."

Artificial eyes are perhaps more important in the economic restoration of those who need them than are limbs, for although they can not be suspected of restoring function they do contribute greatly to availability in the labor market and to peace of mind. It is said that remarkable progress has been achieved in making them beautiful and lifelike. Emphasis is placed on the importance of supplying them promptly, if the best results are to be secured, physically and psychologically, as is equally the case with artificial limbs.

Prosthesis of the jaw and nose and other parts of the head is also a most important department of the surgeon's work for the soldiers of this war, but it is a subject on which a layman must feel even more diffidence. The marvelous results that are being secured by surgeons and sculptors in cooperation in restoring features must also be mentioned, for it makes it possible for those who are horribly disfigured to live in the world without the ever present consciousness that they present a repulsive

appearance to their fellows. Restoration of the exterior ear of cartilege, when that has been destroyed, is one of the simple and easy details. The *blessé* leaves the hospital, says Dr. Chavanne of Lyons, taking with him the model of his ear and a jar of paste, tinted to match his complexion, and he can make himself a new ear whenever he needs one, which will be usually about every eight days.

Closely connected with prosthesis, though not strictly a part of it, are the modifications of ordinary tools and furniture to adapt them to the needs of cripples—special chairs for cobblers who have only one leg, special typewriters and automobile wheels for one-armed men, and so on. Such inventions are useful for persons who can work independently, but for the great mass, who must adapt themselves to standardized machines and tools if they are to compete successfully and permanently with the able-bodied, there is more hope in the efforts which fit the handicapped man for the tool than in those which modify the tool to meet the man's modified capacity.

In all the belligerent countries, as has been said, prosthetic appliances are supplied before discharge from the army or navy, under the direction of the surgeons who have had charge of the treatment. Sometimes the men who have lost limbs are concentrated in special centers for this purpose, when they are nearly ready to be fitted, as in the Centres d'Appareillage in France and the so-called "limbless hospitals"[1] in England. The expense is everywhere met from the national exchequer, but sometimes through the department in charge of pensions rather than through the War Department and the Navy. The commercial supply of appliances in all countries is supplemented by the manufacture of them on a more or less extensive scale in the workshops connected with the hospitals, and for the Belgians the government factories are the sole source of supply. There is more or less attempt made to teach the wearers of artificial limbs how to keep them in order and to repair them, the most

[1] Though the hospitals no doubt have as many "limbs" as a hospital ordinarily has, and the patients in them happily are rarely "limbless," but for the most part lacking only one limb, or at most two or three.

thorough effort that has come to our attention being that of Dr. Spitzy, of Vienna, who requires a four weeks apprenticeship and a certificate of proficiency before he will sign a discharge for such men.

In spite of all the efforts that have been made to produce an adequate and satisfactory supply, and in spite of the great progress which certainly has been made under great handicaps, it is impossible to evade the conclusion that the equipment of many of the men who have already been discharged leaves much to be desired, and that even now in many places the production is not in proportion to the demands.

Functional Reeducation

Functional reeducation is the term employed to describe the means by which the use of a member is restored when it has been lost through disease or injury. Ordinarily it refers to functional impotence, such as paralysis, ankylosis, or atrophy, due to some injury to nerve or nerve center or muscle or bone or tendon, and not to loss of use through loss of member itself. A considerable amount of functional reeducation is required, however, in cases of amputation, and there seems no impropriety in making the term cover that, as some writers seem to do. It includes the use of mechanical apparatus devised to provoke desired movements, electricity, massage, hot air, therapeutic gymnastics, and baths. The cases in which it is an essential part of the treatment are very numerous, including as they do the very large group of crippled conditions due to fractures and to wounds accompanied by extensive sepsis and resulting in great destruction of the soft tissues and enormous masses of scar tissue, as well as to rheumatism, paralysis, and nervous disorders; and also the deafened and blinded, who must be taught respectively to hear by sight and to see by the sense of touch, to make their remaining senses do the work of the full number. A guess, without any statistical foundation, would be that at least three-fourths of all who are injured in the present war are candidates for some degree of functional reeducation or

readaptation. Probably the great majority of those who receive it under favorable conditions are completely restored, and many of the rest greatly improved.[1]

Like prosthesis, functional reeducation is not entirely new. Before the war it was used to a limited extent by a few specialists and in a few orthopedic institutions and sanatoriums, but comparatively few of the individuals who would have profited by it were so fortunate as to have the advantage of it. Like prosthesis, also, it has had a phenomenal development during the war. Special institutions devoted to it are now an important part of the system in every country. It has become commonly available for all the soldiers and sailors who need it, instead of being limited as formerly to a few fortunate individuals who happened to fall into the hands of private physicians who had made a study of it or of the few institutions where it was practiced.

In France, in the laboratories of Dr. Jules Amar, at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, formerly devoted to an analysis of the processes in different industries and the interests of injured workmen, but now the Laboratory for Prosthesis under the Army Medical Service, functional reeducation is treated as an exact science. Dr. Amar conceives of the individual as a "moteur humain," whose power can be measured exactly by machines which record the strength and rapidity of the different elementary movements. Each man who is sent to him for examination is analyzed thoroughly and a "fiche d'aptitude" is drawn up which indicates his capacity for work and the kind of work for which he is fitted physiologically. Exercises are prescribed on the machines in the laboratory, and the progress of the patient is tested by periodical examinations. Dr. Amar has given special attention also to the education of the tactile and muscular sensibilities of the stump, in order to prepare it for getting the most use from an artificial limb. His teaching has

[1] M. Bittard, in *Les Ecoles de Blessés*, page 31, quotes statistics for three months of 1915 of one of the French centers which indicate that over four-fifths of the 1,673 cases treated during that period were either cured or very greatly improved.

had a great influence on the work throughout France and Italy. It is to Dr. Amar's observations that we owe the frequently cited figures that eighty per cent of the *mutilés* can be put in condition to earn a living, sixty-five per cent under ordinary conditions of labor.

The apparatus which was used in functional reeducation before the war was expensive and elaborate and there was not much of it to be had. Surgeons everywhere, therefore, were forced to devise substitutes which could be made quickly and cheaply, and it was soon found that equally good results could frequently be secured with very rudimentary devices, consisting of a splint or two and a few cords and weights or pulleys. It was found, furthermore, that the kind of apparatus which is most effective is that which demands initiative on the part of the patient. "Taking" physiotherapy is not like taking quinine; the benefit depends largely on the attitude of the patient. The tendency has been, therefore, to subordinate apparatus, and in so far as it is used to expect of it only a passive rôle, merely directing effort which is made by the man himself. In Germany great reliance is placed on gymnastic drills which are directed by a military officer with military forms of command, which is considered the stimulus most likely to excite response.

A further extension of this same principle of the superior value of active movements has taken place in the utilization of work in place of, or in addition to, gymnastics and mecanotherapy. "Bedside occupations" and "curative workshops" supply an element of interest which has a great therapeutic value. A man who is unable to close his hand around the bars of an exercising-machine finds it possible to grasp a tool with which he is trying to make something. "Occupational therapy" before the war had been applied chiefly to the insane and to nervous cases, and consisted chiefly in pottery, bead-work, weaving, and other "crafts." As now understood—for example, in the "curative workshops" established by Colonel Sir Robert Jones in the orthopedic hospitals in England—the list includes motor mechanics, electrical engineering, wood and metal work, typewriting,

poultry raising, vegetable gardening, and a variety of tasks about the buildings and grounds, and it is prescribed for patients whose disability is due to a great variety of causes.

This work is not intended to be "vocational reeducation." The military medical officers have jealously guarded against encroachment by the vocational educators before the man's physical restoration is complete. Wherever manual training or instruction in academic subjects or work at a trade is provided for men before discharge, it is under the control of the military authorities and is considered primarily an element in the medical treatment. It is prescribed for a man like any other form of exercise, with reference to his physical needs and not with any regard to his occupation in the future. If here and there in certain cases it turns out to amount to training for a new occupation by which a man may earn a living after discharge, no one can complain, provided it has been the best thing for his physical restoration as well. In Canada what appears to be a harmonious coordination has been established between the military medical authorities and the vocational officers responsible for the economic outlook of the patients, whereby the latter have charge of the teaching that is given and can influence the assignments of the men within limits. A similar coordination is contemplated in the United States.

Therapeutic occupations, if business ability is combined with medical knowledge in the administration, may be made to contribute substantially to the expense of running the institution, though of course it would be dangerous to make that object too prominent. The opinion has been expressed that work which has an immediate utility has an advantage from the therapeutic point of view, for the men are more interested in making splints and other things to be used for their fellow patients than in any other kind of occupation.

CHAPTER XI

Financial Indemnities

Pension systems for the army and navy have been so radically modified during the present war—except in Germany—that they now bear little resemblance to those in force in 1914. Not only has the general scale of payments been greatly increased, but new principles have been brought forward and in some measure adopted for determining the amount to be paid.

The systems existing at the beginning of the war had been framed to meet the needs of a professional army, some of them, moreover, many years ago. Though differing in details they have a general resemblance. In the interest of discipline and to insure strength in the essential framework of the army by making the position of officer attractive to men of capacity, a sharp distinction was made between officers and enlisted men. To encourage stability of personnel throughout the whole organization, the element of length of service was taken into account. A retirement pension, at the end of twenty-five or thirty years of service, proportioned to the pay received at retirement, was the type of pension. Death and disability were treated as variations from this normal mode of terminating relations with the military organization—premature retirement, as it were—but the ideas of reparation for injury received in service and of assistance because of need had entered in to modify this fundamental conception.

Pensions for disability, then, were usually determined primarily by the rank of the man, or by his pay, which corresponds to rank, with modifications for length of service and participation in campaigns. They were generally higher than the retirement pay for the same rank, in recognition of the injury which had been incurred. If they were computed on the retirement pay as

a base, as in Italy and France, a certain percentage of it was added, while in Germany and Austria the idea of compensation was expressed by a "mutilation bonus" or an "injury bonus" added to the pension. The degree of injury sustained was taken into account either in the pension or the bonus or in both. The rating of injuries was done roughly, and with reference to the effect on efficiency in military service rather than in civil life. In Italy and Austria there were only three categories, and in Germany only a distinction between "major" and "minor" mutilations. Austria's three classes were: I, blindness or loss of two members; II, loss of hand or foot or an equivalent infirmity; III, any other injury incapacitating for military service. The degree of incapacity which was considered sufficient to entitle to a pension varied from ten per cent in Germany to sixty per cent in France, but gratuities were sometimes available for lesser degrees, under certain circumstances. In England the "character" of a man was taken into account, and also "any peculiar circumstances attending his conduct at the time the wound was received." Recognition of need as a legitimate factor in determining the amount of the pension is seen in the "privileged" pensions of Italy, by which the normal amount for the lower grades is increased by one-fifth up to a certain maximum. Except in Canada, the basis of award was purely personal; the number of dependents was not considered. This was a survival from the days when armies were largely celibate. In the United States, while the retirement system for the regular establishment conformed to the prevailing type, the principle of compensation for disability had long been recognized in the general pension laws, and rates had been fixed by law from time to time for certain specified injuries, without reference to the rank of the man or the length of his service. This is the only instance we have found among the belligerents in which rank was disregarded.

In general, therefore, though it is impossible to make a comprehensive statement, in view of the great maze of complicated detail which these laws present, and difficult even to make any

generalization to which there may not have been an exception, it may be said that the prevailing disability pension at the outbreak of the present war was based on military rank, degree of incapacity, and length of service, and that the amount for total disability was nowhere sufficient to maintain a family at a normal standard of living, while in most countries it was so small—whatever the theory back of it—as to be little more in fact than an "honorarium." In several countries the money payment to partially disabled men was supplemented by a claim to civil employment by the government, or to preference at least in filling many positions. Awards of pensions and their administration, except for the general pension laws in the United States, were in the hands of the military and naval authorities.

A system which is suitable enough for an "armée de métier" is not necessarily appropriate for a "nation in arms." As the military organization expanded to include practically the whole able bodied male population between eighteen and forty-five or fifty years of age, the nations were faced with the necessity of making new provisions—first for the dependents of the men on active service, and then for the survivors of those who should be killed and for those who should be disabled. In some countries the revision has been more thorough and more consistent than in others, but Germany, whose intricate and carefully planned system had been established only a few years before the beginning of the war, is the only one of the more important countries which has not made radical changes; and in Germany there have been such loud demands for revision that it is reported to be promised after the war is over. Great Britain and Canada have both arrived gradually at their present systems, by several stages, feeling their way in characteristic Anglo-Saxon fashion; France, on the other hand, has put up with her antiquated laws of 1831 until she could consider to her satisfaction all aspects of the theoretical questions involved, as well as the practical consequences of a measure bound to affect the nation so profoundly for so many years, and is only now (1918) taking the final steps in deciding upon her new system.

Pensions for disability, in the new systems of financial provisions for the members of the military and naval force engaged in the present war and their families and dependents, differ from those which they supersede not only in amount but in the fundamental principle on which they are built—which, for that matter, is what determines the amount. The object now is to enable the disabled man to maintain a minimum standard of living, and that not merely for himself but for his family. The motive is a combination of appreciation, reparation, and social defense.

A basic allowance for the soldier who is "totally" and permanently incapacitated is decided upon, and to that is added an allowance for each dependent for whom he is recognized to be responsible, sometimes as a part of the pension paid to the man, sometimes as a continuation of the "separation allowances" paid to the dependents themselves. The "dependents" recognized for this purpose may be only children, as in Great Britain, or may include wives, parents and grandparents, stepchildren, grandchildren, brothers, and sisters. In case of wife and children under working age, dependence is assumed; when ascendants or collateral relatives are recognized, their dependence on the disabled man and their need of assistance must ordinarily be demonstrated, though Australia, with a bountiful gesture appropriate to her abundance, does not raise the question of need with reference to either parents or grandparents. In Italy and France parents and brothers and sisters may benefit only when there is no wife or child. The disposition is toward liberality in the definition of dependents—to recognize "unmarried wives" and illegitimate children, for example, on the same terms as those who have conventional legal claims. In some countries a maximum is fixed for any one household; in a few there is no such maximum, and the total goes on increasing for every additional child, no matter how many there may be. It is common to allow more for the "first" child than for the "second" or "third," and when a maximum is set it is apt to be the amount contemplated for a family of three children. An additional allowance, ranging from less than a dollar to five or six dollars per week, is generally provided

if the man's condition is such as to require constant personal attendance. In Australia this is given only if he has no wife or if she is herself an invalid, and the same thing is implied in the French law by the phrase "attendance of a third person." Great Britain says a "second person." In some countries length of service still enters into the computation, over and above the minimum established for all.

The old gradations according to rank have not been abandoned, and the United States is still the only state, among the principal belligerents, which makes no distinction between officers and men. The increases, however, have in general been greater in the case of privates, which operates to make the distinction less marked than it was before. In a professional army variation according to rank or pay is only a consistent application of the principle of the standard of living, a rough attempt to make the pension provide not merely for a minimum standard, but for an approach at least to the actual former standard of the individual, and of his family, if he had one which he maintained on his army pay. In armies like the present, however, made up of men from every occupation and grade of income in civil life, in which a millionaire banker may be—even if he rarely is—a private under his former chauffeur or office boy, military rank is no indication of former standard of living, and to justify the procedure by such an argument would be specious in the extreme. Probably the principle has been retained in the countries where it had been established not so much as the result of any reasoning about it as through conservatism and a feeling that it is after all appropriate to make a difference even if it may be inconsistent with the main theory; just as in the United States the proposal to introduce it, urged on theoretical grounds by those who wished to increase the superficial resemblance to workmen's compensation, was indignantly spurned by Congress as "obnoxious."

The French, however, justify it on grounds of principle. In considering the fundamental question as to whether the new system should distinguish between the professionals and the non-

professionals in the army, the extra-parliamentary commission reasoned as follows:[1]

> Lorsque deux soldats tombent frappés par le même obus, qu'ils ont le même grade, qu'ils rendaient à la nation le même ordre de services au point de vue militaire, on ne saurait admettre qu'ils soient traités de façon différente parce qu'ils occupaient une situation sociale différente ou qu'ils exerçaient dans la vie des fonctions plus ou moins rémunérées. En présence du cataclysme de la guerre qui sévit sur notre pays, l'obligation de l'Etat envers ceux qui lui consacrent leur vie sur le champ de bataille ne peut se différencier que par des distinctions d'ordre militaire et non d'après des inégalités étrangères au service de la défense nationale. La valeur qui sert de base au calcul de la réparation en temps de guerre ne peut être la valeur sociale telle que l'établit l'échelle des valeurs de la vie civile, mais uniquement la valeur au point de vue militaire telle qu'elle résulte des échelons admis par la législation militaire. Puis donc que cette législation, telle qu'elle est depuis longtemps en vigueur, a créé pour les militaires un droit à pension ne comportant d'autre différenciation que le forfait du grade, réputé correspondre à l'importance du service rendu, il faut que ces règles continuent à s'appliquer, en principe, à toutes les victimes de la guerre actuelle.

In other words, that is the way they feel about it—that the unity of the national army before the enemy is the supreme consideration, and that recompenses should be proportioned to the service rendered in the war, as represented by the military rank attained, rather than by the value of the individual as a civilian. If the French *felt* as the Americans do, they would no doubt be able to justify that position with equal clarity. The sentiment is a lofty one, it must be admitted, and perhaps it is due partly to the exaltation of the times.

A desire to guarantee to the men disabled in the war not merely a minimum standard, but something approaching that which they had been able to maintain by their own efforts before they left their factory or workshop or mine or farm or office for the war which has destroyed their powers, seems to most of us both natural and logical in the present circumstances. It has haunted Great Britain's legislators throughout their consideration of this problem and has been very troublesome to them. After deciding that it was neither suitable nor practicable for the state to try to meet individual differences in its pension

[1] In its *Rapport*, submitted by M. Jean Romieu.

system, they created a special quasi-official body, the Statutory Committee, which was charged with the duty of making supplementary provision in case of special need and hardship. The idea still survives, though the "special body" has been abolished, in the "special grants" of the present pension scheme, and also in the "alternative pension," which allows prewar earnings to be made the basis of award of the pension, up to a maximum of seventy-five shillings per week, if the disabled man can prove that the sum of the pension to which his degree of disability entitles him, plus the allowances for his children, plus the average earnings which he is capable of earning, comes to less than his earnings before the war. This involves the delicate operation of estimating income, not only at present, but also in the past, and also of deciding what are the "average earnings which he is capable of earning," which England found exceedingly difficult and mischievous when she made pensions for partial disability depend upon it.

A slight concession to the demands for consideration of the actual economic loss to the individual caused by his injuries has also been made in Germany by provision for a "supplementary allowance" out of a special fund of the Imperial Government, similar in principle to the "alternative pension" of England. This is one of the few modifications which have been made to the laws of 1906 to meet the present situation, and it is so hedged about with limitations as to have a very restricted application. The allowance, which is in addition to the normal pension, may not exceed forty or forty-five marks; it may be granted only in cases in which impairment to the working capacity is at least 33⅓ per cent and actual income is diminished by at least one-fourth, the total present income not amounting to more than 5,000 marks from all sources, including pension; the applicant must prove that he had a definite income from work before the war, that he has lost it in consequence of his injuries, and that he has made all possible efforts since discharge to get work which would make him self-supporting; the award is made for only six months at a time. It is reported that the German

Government has promised to revise the entire pension system so as to make former earnings an element in the basis of computation, but not until after the war is over.

There has been deliberation in several countries about the advisability of taking into consideration the differences in cost of living in different localities, especially in connection with allowances to families of soldiers in active service. The practical difficulties of equitable adjustment have usually prevented its becoming part of the government schemes, but in Italy, where it is adopted to the extent that a difference is made in the amounts allowed in capital cities and in other communes, it affects the disabled soldier's income from the government, since separation allowances for his wife and children are continued after his discharge as a part of his indemnity.

For disability which is less than "total" or "maximum" a proportion of the pension and allowances is given, corresponding to the degree of incapacity, according to a tariff of injuries, sometimes embodied in the law and sometimes left wholly or in part to administrative ruling. For slight injuries—below ten or twenty per cent of total incapacity, usually; five per cent in Canada—lump sum gratuities are generally given.

The principle which has been generally adopted for rating injuries in the new legislation is the degree of reduction in wage earning power in civil life which the injury may be presumed to effect; not the degree of unavailability for military service which it connotes; and not the reduction which it has actually produced in the particular individual's ability to earn a living. In the words of the United States law, "ratings shall be based, as far as practicable, upon the average impairments of earning capacity resulting from such injuries in civil occupations and not upon the impairment of earning capacity in each individual case, so that there shall be no reduction in the rate of compensation for individual success in overcoming the handicap of a permanent injury." This law also provides that the schedule of ratings shall be adjusted from time to time "in accordance with actual experience." Even in France, where the

ideal seems to be to have a scale representing the absolute reduction in physical power, viewing the human body as a machine, availability in the labor market has apparently been taken as the index to reduction of bodily efficiency, for the disability table, it is said, is based largely on experience gained in the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Law.

The Bureau of War Risk Insurance, which has the task of creating this schedule in the United States, has had an ambitious conception which, if it can be worked out, will result in a more equitable application of the intention of the legislation than has been tried elsewhere. Recognizing the difference in the significance of the same injury under different circumstances—that the loss of a finger, for instance, may mean complete ruin in his old profession for a pianist or a surgeon, while it has no influence at all on the efficiency of a bookkeeper or a lawyer—they intend to draw up a schedule in which the anatomical nature of the injury shall be correlated with occupation in civil life, and the percentage allowed for each injury will be on a sliding scale, larger for the occupations in which the injured member is considered essential, smaller for those in which it is of little consequence, with an irreducible minimum to represent what Mr. Seebohm Rowntree called the "personal inconvenience" of the loss. It seems doubtful whether this can be satisfactorily accomplished. Scientific study of what the minimum requirements in the way of physical equipment are in any occupation is so scanty, and revelations of the dispensability of most of the members which we have been accustomed to regard as essential are becoming so frequent and convincing, that it would seem that such a scale must necessarily be largely a register of general impressions rather than a measure of scientific accuracy. A minor embarrassment is that a large proportion of the boys in the National Army had not as yet any "occupation" in civil life. This has been met by deciding to regard them as "soldiers."

France does not seem to sympathize with this desire that prevails in many of the other countries, to base the compensation

for injuries received in the war partly on civil earnings before the war. The French point of view is expressed in the paragraph already quoted from the report of the extra-parliamentary commission in justification of making military grade the determining factor. The whole idea of treating such indemnities as analogous to compensation for industrial accidents, for that matter, seems to be repugnant to the French. They seem to feel that to regard soldiers as employes of the nation in its conduct of an extra-hazardous occupation, as the proponents of the United States legislation liked to put it, is equivalent to dividing the nation into two parts, putting the army in the position of hirelings doing the bidding of "the nation." Then, too, the analogy does not bear the scrutiny of the analytical French mind:

> Pour les accidents du travail, c'est l'employeur qui est tout à la fois débiteur du salaire et de la rente d'accident, c'est lui qui dirige seul les opérations industrielles, qui peut prendre toutes mesures pour conjurer le danger, et qui, dès lors, encourt légitimement la pleine responsabilité. Pour les accidents de la guerre, au contraire, l'Etat, qui paye la pension, se distingue (pour les militaires non-professionnels) du patron civil qui payait le salaire; l'accident n'est, dans la plupart des cas, pas son fait mais celui de l'ennemi; et la circonstance du fait de force majeure combinée avec l'idée de devoir national, complique singulièrement le problème de la responsabilité, qui ne peut pas plus se résoudre par la simple application des règles de la responsabilité patronale que par celle de la responsabilité du service public en général.

The supreme consideration, however, which led the commission to reject the idea of making any difference between the professional and the non-professional soldiers, which is another way of expressing the idea of taking into account economic status before the war, was the importance of the conception of the unity of the national army in the face of the enemy: "tous les frères d'armes" must be treated alike, "sans distinction d'origine," to the end of the war.

To those who do not share this view—which undoubtedly has a poetic allure—it would seem that the most just way to decide the award for any injury received in the present war would be on the basis of the hardship which it has actually

worked in the life of the individual concerned, rather than of the average reduction in wage earning capacity which it may be presumed to produce, even if the presumption can be made to take into account the man's previous occupation. Not only is a given injury more serious in one occupation than in another, but the ability to adapt oneself to the loss, and the value of the powers remaining, differ so much that even as between two individuals in the same occupation an identical injury may mean complete ruin in one case and have no permanent disadvantage in the other. England's consciousness of all this gave her an unhappy time of it for a year or two. The first revised pension scheme, adopted in 1915, provided that the pension for partial disability should be such a sum as would make up the amount provided for total disability when added to "the wages which the man may be deemed to be capable of earning." While theoretically satisfying to the sense of justice, this provision was found to be "absolutely unworkable," as indeed some practical persons had predicted when it was adopted. It imposed an impossible task upon the medical boards which made the awards, and, still worse, it had all the demoralizing results of the old poor law which gave "relief in aid of wages." Fear of losing part of his pension discouraged a man from making the most of his abilities, and employers saw no reason for increasing his wages when the effect would be automatically to reduce his pension. Industrial conditions were such that almost any man, unless very badly crippled, could earn at least twenty-five shillings a week, which was the maximum for a single man to which his pension, added to his wages, might bring up his income; but since if he was earning twenty-five shillings a week he got no pension, he usually elected to remain idle and repose on the claim that his injury made it impossible for him to work at all, declining all proposals, moreover, to learn to do something in which his injury would not be a handicap. The principle was abandoned in the revision of 1917, and in its place the nature of the disability, objectively and physiologically considered, was made the determining factor.

The new schedules which have been adopted for grading disabilities are in general much more detailed than the old ones, and the number of categories is usually increased to eight or ten or even twenty. They have had most careful consideration. The one adopted by Italy is the work of a commission of medical, legal, and actuarial experts, and probably represents the nearest possible approach to scientific precision. Its ten categories specify 172 different injuries or groups of injuries.

These classifications still show the influence of traditional and conventional ideas as to the consequences of certain injuries rather than scientific consideration of the effect they actually have on economic efficiency at the present time. The loss of two feet, for example, or of one foot and one hand, are usually classified among the injuries which produce complete inability for wage earning, although that is an idea to which no one interested in cripples would now subscribe. Italy rates the loss of six or seven toes as denoting a reduction of fifty per cent in earning capacity, and Great Britain puts the loss of two fingers of either hand at twenty per cent.

From the new point of view in regard to the possibilities for the handicapped it seems an anachronism to cling to the idea of "total" or "100 per cent" disability, except for certain incurable diseases, mental and physical. "Total disablement," said Sir Henry Norman in his report on the training of disabled soldiers in France in 1917, "has almost ceased to exist in France." "There are no more cripples," exclaims another Englishman. "America may have some physical cripples returned from the front," writes the enthusiastic director of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, "but she must have no social or economic cripples resulting from her participation in this war for justice and humanity." And yet the pension systems still assume that the normal effect of many injuries is a decrease of *100 per cent* in earning power, that is, absolute destruction of all hope of ever again earning—not to say a living, but anything at all! Great Britain explains, in a circular issued by the Ministry of Pensions, that "the highest degree of disablement

means that a man's injuries are so great that he can not be *expected* to earn anything. His pension is then at least 27 shillings 6 pence a week. If he *can* still earn while drawing this 27 shillings 6 pence a week, so much the better for him. That will not alter his pension."

In the United States the definition of "total disability" which has been adopted is "any impairment of mind or body which renders it impossible for the disabled person to follow continuously any substantially gainful occupation." The list of impairments which have been decided upon as meeting this definition has not been published, but written into our new law, in perpetuation of rates already standing on the statute books, is the provision for a flat rate of one hundred dollars a month "for the loss of both feet or both hands or both eyes, or for becoming totally blind or helplessly and permanently bedridden from causes occurring in the line of duty in the service of the United States."

Great Britain's official list of the injuries which are so great that a man so afflicted "can not be expected to earn anything" is as follows: loss of two or more limbs, of an arm and an eye, of a leg and an eye, of both hands or of all fingers and thumbs, of both feet (originally rated at eighty per cent, but transferred to Class I in next year's revision), of a hand and a foot, total loss of sight, total paralysis, lunacy, wounds or injuries or disease resulting in the man being permanently bedridden, wounds of or injuries to internal, thoracic or abdominal organs "to the extent of involving permanent disabling effects," or Jacksonian epilepsy, very severe facial disfigurement, advanced cases of incurable disease. Even this list leaves considerable scope for interpretation to the awarding officials.

The Italian list is even more inclusive:

1. Loss of four limbs, from complete loss to loss of hands and feet only.
2. Loss of three limbs, from complete loss to loss of two hands and one foot.
3. Organic and incurable changes in both eyes, with resulting absolute and permanent blindness.
4. Loss of upper limbs, from complete loss to loss of both hands only.

5. Permanent, incurable and serious changes of mental faculties to the point of rendering the individual totally incapable of any profitable work, or dangerous to himself or others.

6. Lesions of the central nervous system (brain and spinal marrow) with permanent consequences serious enough to cause, either singly or together, profound and irreparable disturbance to the functions most necessary to organic and social life.

7. Loss of both lower limbs (disarticulation or amputation of the thighs).

8. Loss of two limbs, upper and lower on the same side (disarticulation or amputation of the arm and thigh).

9. Organic and incurable change in one eye, producing its absolute and permanent blindness, with the visual acuteness of the other eye reduced to the power to count the fingers at the distance of ordinary short-distance vision.

10. Loss of an upper and lower limb, not on the same side (disarticulation or amputation of arm and thigh).

11. Total loss of one hand and two feet.

12. Total loss of one hand and one foot.

13. Total loss of all the fingers of two hands, or total loss of two thumbs and six or seven fingers.

14. Total loss of one thumb and eight other fingers.

15. Total loss of five fingers of one hand and of the first two of the other.

16. Total loss of both feet.

17. All other organic or functional infirmities and lesions serious and permanent to the point of determining absolute incapacity for profitable work.

With many of these ratings no one would be disposed to quarrel. In general those which do not correspond with the present consensus of deliberate judgment (and the same would be true in the other categories as well as in the highest group) are the "mutilations"—the loss of a limb or an eye. This is a very interesting psychological situation, for the same men who with one breath provide facilities for "reeducation" of the seriously disabled, on the ground that they can be restored to self-support, with the next—or the one just before, more probably—place them in the group of "totally and permanently" incapacitated for wage earning. Either the new doctrine of restoration is not effectively accepted, or there are complicating considerations. No doubt it would seem risky to legislators who feel that they hold in their hands the future of the men disabled in this war to trust everything to such a new tool as "reeducation." Certainly it would seem cruel to the public. It

is a thrilling idea, of course, and these stories of what individual cripples have accomplished are very inspiring, but to be on the safe side we will not assume that all can do as much. Then, too, there is the feeling of compassion that will persist for any visible mutilation of the human body, even if it is proved to the intellect that the portion of the body which has been lost is of no economic importance. The pension gives an opportunity to the nation to express that compassion. So we have this paradoxical situation: we provide pensions for these men on the assumption that they will never again be able to earn anything; and we provide instruction for them which we assure them will enable them to become self-supporting—and we even penalize them as far as we dare if they decline the instruction.

Several countries have provided for the capitalization of the pension, or part of it, in cases of disability below a certain degree of severity, when the applicant can convince the authorities that it would be to his permanent advantage to have a lump sum for investment. To acquire land, make improvements on land already owned, buy stock, or set up in business, are the usual purposes for which commutation is favored. Evidence of ability to succeed in the proposed enterprise is required. Especially in the case of those who aspire to agricultural property, the plans must give promise of success, and the man must demonstrate fitness for the undertaking, through experience or because of special training. The United States considered a proposal to allow limited commutation, with safeguards, but decided against it, on the ground that the money would certainly be wasted in nine cases out of ten, and "our boys" must be protected against their own improvidence and the wiles of those who would take advantage of them.

Revision of the award is allowed in some of the laws, in order that changes in the degree of disability in either direction may be followed by appropriate modifications of the amount of the pension; in order, that is, that the permanent award may correspond with the intention of the law. France grants permanent pensions only for "une mutilation irrémédiable ou une suppres-

sion d'organe"; for other pensionable injuries the grant is "renewable" every two years until a permanent condition is reached. In Canada every case is subject to review automatically at the end of the first year, except in those cases in which the disability was obviously permanent, and in its final form, at the time of the original award—such as amputation cases, presumably. In the United States the bureau in charge may at any time review an award, either on its own motion or on application. Allowances for dependents are as a matter of course revised as children come of age or as deaths or births change the number entitled to be included. Most countries, on the other hand, expressly provide, as a result of sad experience, that no revision may be made in consequence of an increase in individual earning power; that, as Canada puts it, "no deduction shall be made from the amount awarded to any pensioner owing to his having undertaken work or perfected himself in some form of industry."

The United States chooses to call her pension system "compensation," though it does not differ in general principles from the "pension" systems of her allies, except in disregarding differences of rank, in which respect, since pay corresponds with rank, it differs also from compensation systems; and although it does differ from compensation for industrial accidents in this very disregard for the rate of pay, and also in taking into consideration the composition of the family dependent on the beneficiary. The United States, however, although its "compensation" system is less novel than has been claimed, has introduced a new element into the situation by its system of state aided voluntary insurance against death and complete disability. While this is not strictly a part of the pension plan, it modifies the financial outlook of the soldier almost as much as if it were a provision which went into effect without any action on his part, since the terms have been made so attractive that most of the men who are eligible—over ninety per cent—have taken out the insurance, and that too for about eighty-five per cent, on

the average, of the maximum of ten thousand dollars which is allowed.

Administration of pensions, which at the beginning of the war was almost everywhere entirely in the hands of the military authorities, has in several countries been taken over by a new civil department of the government, created for tasks growing out of the present war. In Great Britain this is the Ministry of Pensions, which came into existence in January, 1917, and which is responsible for a great deal besides pensions. Canada, after an intermediate stage when the Pension Commissioners were an independent civilian board, has established a Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, of which the Board of Pension Commissioners has become one branch. Italy's military and civil pensions were already administered by the same branch of the government, which has been materially assisted to meet the pressure of the new situation by a voluntary organization, the Consorzio Laziale di Assistenza ai Lavoratori. The compensation system of the United States is entrusted not to the existing Pension Bureau, but to the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department, originally created to handle insurance of American ships and cargoes.

It is obviously impossible to put into a simple table the provisions of the existing pension schemes for men disabled in the war, as we should like to do, for no one of the systems is simple in itself, and a combination of all of them, though they have their general resemblance, would be so complex as to defeat its purpose. In order, however, to present some concrete picture of what all this means to a soldier's family, the table on page 421 has been worked out.

It shows what the "totally disabled" man with a wife and three children is entitled to in the countries for which the information is at hand, without including the allowance for attendance which is added in all the systems except those of Germany and Austria. The countries are arranged according to the size of this amount. This is not necessarily the order of liberality for the schemes if every feature could be taken into account. A

country which, like Canada, puts no maximum to the allowance for a single family, but goes on adding $96 a year for each child, no matter how many there are, would have a relatively higher place in the list if ten children had been taken for the common denominator instead of three. The United States gets to the top only by dint of the special provision in the law which gives a flat rate of $100 a month to certain specified cases, and which is a departure from the symmetry of the compensation scheme. The amount of the compensation for a man totally disabled in any other way than those specified, who has a wife and three children, is only $75 a month, which ranks below Canada and Australia. If, however, it could be assumed that the American had taken out the maximum insurance allowed, his annual income from the government would amount to $1,890 for the special cases, or $1,590 for those coming under the general provision of the law, and would be far and away above that in any other country. The table might show a different order, also, if we included other dependents than wife and three children. The United States, for example, adds ten dollars a month for a dependent mother to the $75 mentioned above, and another ten for a dependent father. For a comparison, however, in simplest terms, of the provisions as they affect the normal family, this is the best that we could do, and the result confirms in a general way the impression of the relative generosity of the systems studied. The striking feature is the high rates provided by the countries of the new world. The European Allies, Great Britain, France and Italy, occupy a middle ground between the Central Powers on the one hand and the British colonies and the United States on the other.

ANNUAL VALUE OF PENSION*

For a "Totally Disabled" Man with Wife and Three Children, not Including Allowance for Attendance

Austria	$121.56
Germany (including bonus for major mutilation)	325.86
France (pending in the Senate)	434.25
Italy	519.17
Great Britain	546.67
New Zealand	885.70
Australia	980.59
Canada	984.00
United States:	
Special cases	1200.00
Regular provision	900.00
Addition from insurance if man has taken out maximum amount allowed	690.00

* The amounts have been put into dollars and cents according to the table of conventional values used by Lt. Col. Wolfe in computing equivalent values in his report for the Children's Bureau, and do not, therefore, take account of present rates of exchange.

To summarize in a word the spirit of the new legislation is as difficult as to reduce to a simple table its provisions. We can say, as we did in the beginning, that present provisions are based on the idea of a minimum standard of living for a family, and that the amount of the individual pension is determined by the degree of the injury, the military rank, and the number of dependents. The motives lying back of these provisions, however, the theories and desires that have combined to bring about the changes that have been made, are elusive. They are elusive because they are complex. Military pensions, says Professor Fuster, and especially war pensions, seem *a priori* unable to "give full satisfaction" if they are treated simply as recompense or remuneration for service rendered, or simply as reparation for injury arising from public service, or simply as one of the ordinary national relief institutions. Where they are the most completely developed they seem to be the expression of a philosophy which is "mixte et conciliateur," according to which "this 'social risk,' war, which strikes individuals powerless to defend themselves by personal foresight, must be 'indemnified' by soci-

ety, but with an eye to the actual needs, and also to the service rendered."[1]

No single theory can account for the new systems. They are the product of our inheritance of traditions and prejudices, of our recent thought about social problems, and of the emotions of the present hour, which affect all our reasoning, whether we are conscious of it or not.

[1] Special Report of the Commission Extraparlementaire: *Observations Générales sur la Question des Pensions Militaires.*

CHAPTER XII

Economic Reestablishment

Of all who are injured less than fatally by wound or disease in the war, by far the greater part—probably something like ninety per cent—will be completely restored to their normal economic capacity by the medical treatment they receive in the army. Of the ten per cent who may be permanently disabled there will be some so tragically wrecked in mind or body that no amount of skill and no degree of solicitude can restore any degree of their wage earning ability. They will of necessity be dependent. For them society's responsibility consists in providing the financial means of support, which is done in the pension systems, and beyond that, in insuring the kind of care which is best adapted to the comfort and peace of each one, according to his situation and his needs. In some cases permanent institutional care will be best, but the tendency seems to be in favor of care in family surroundings, even if the man has no family of his own, except when treatment is needed which can not be supplied in an ordinary home, thus reducing the candidates for permanent institutional care to a very small number.

Between these two extremes, in every gradation, are the men who are "permanently" disabled, but not hopelessly and "totally" disabled, including many, however, who are so labeled technically, for purposes of pension. These are the men who can resume a place in the normal economic life of the community and be productive members of society, even if they can not be wholly self-supporting. Of these, in the future as in the past, a very large proportion will be quite able, notwithstanding their disabilities, to take care of themselves as soon as they are discharged from the army. They will all have a certain fixed income from the government to count upon for the rest of their

lives. In some instances their disability will be slight. In other instances they will have resources of their own or family resources, aside from their pension, ample to provide for any necessary period of readjustment.

Even these—the well-to-do and the slightly injured—do not exhaust the number of those who will remain independent of further aid from the government or from private sources. Many of the more seriously injured will, in spite of the loss of a leg or an arm or other even greater handicap, go directly back into their old occupations, though not necessarily to precisely the same operations. Their former employers will offer them such work as they can do, and on the basis of their previous experience and the personal interest of their associates and employers they will be reabsorbed into their home communities with little loss of efficiency and with little disturbance. Others less fortunate—or perhaps in the end more fortunate—who can not go back to their old work or who had not yet become established in an "occupation," will nevertheless make their way by sheer force of character and will power, even if no special help is provided for them. These exceptional men, whether sound of body or crippled, are not so numerous that public policy can be shaped with reference to them, but their influence and example will furnish a great stimulus and encouragement to others less endowed but similarly afflicted.

Individual initiative, previous connections and friendship, and personal financial resources, supplementing the physical restoration and financial indemnity provided by the government, may thus be counted on to take care of a substantial part of the problem of the disabled soldier after his discharge. This is as it should be. Such resources should be relied upon to the utmost. The natural, unrecorded reabsorption of the largest possible number is the ideal most in harmony with a healthy state of society. This is the ideal to be kept before the soldier, wounded or unwounded—that he is to remain a citizen, and after the war, whether still sound in body or scarred by battle, is to resume his place as a producer of wealth, as the head of a family, as

one who continues to do his part in the community, appreciated and honored by his fellow citizens, but not pitied or requiring indulgence.

This is the ideal, but there will be a large number who can attain it only with assistance; and it is essential, from the new point of view, that the assistance should be given at the outset, generously, discriminatingly, and adequately, with the idea that it is to be once for all.

Those in need of this additional assistance—which might be called "social" to distinguish it from the "medical" and "financial" provisions already discussed—are (1) the cripples, whether by amputation or from some other cause, the blind, and the deaf —those, in short, who have lost a member or the use of a member; and also (2) arrested cases of tuberculosis, men with lesions of the heart or permanent nervous disorders of certain kinds or those suffering from incurable effects of other disturbances.

For the most part the primary need of the second group is continued medical supervision and continued protection from overexertion, while for the first it is stimulation and direction of ambition and development of powers. Although more attention had been paid before the war to the problems of cardiac and tuberculous cases than to those of cripples, there has been less progress in working out a satisfactory solution for them, and in the measures that have been taken for the reestablishment of disabled soldiers in economic life they have not been specially provided for. Vocational reeducation has envisaged the man who has lost some part of his physical equipment rather than the one whose general strength is reduced or whose activity is restricted by a diseased condition. In the one case it is a question of training a healthy body to make its remaining members do the work of a full equipment, so that there will be no consciousness of loss; in the other it is rather to adjust the whole life to a reduced or modified scale of activity, which may be quite out of drawing with the unimpaired ambition and spiritual energy. The latter is a problem which deserves more study than it has had. It is more difficult, and for this reason, no doubt, as well as because the

tragedy of their situation is less spectacular, provision for this group of the handicapped has not advanced as rapidly and is not yet a conspicuous part of the new program for the men disabled in the war. It is not that the desire, and indeed the declared intention, to help them is wanting, but we do not see so clearly what they need, and it is more difficult to supply it in so far as we do see it.

The general nature of the assistance which is needed by both these groups is the same: advice and encouragement; training for an occupation suited to their capacities, when that is required; and a chance to use that training or previous experience in earning an income. The advice is of a different character; the occupations may be different; but the essence of the help is the same—sympathetic and intelligent aid in the readjustment made necessary by physical disability; and the object in view is the same—to restore the man as nearly as possible, whatever his handicap, to an independent position in normal human life.

Organization and Machinery

The necessary machinery for supplying this assistance, in so far as it is differentiated from what is done by the military authorities, in connection with medical treatment, has developed gradually in most countries, as the needs were felt and as methods were devised to meet them. Organizations already in existence for the benefit of civilian cripples, like the German Federation for the Care of Cripples, or for the general welfare of soldiers and sailors, like the two English societies, naturally expanded to serve the disabled soldiers as they began to be discharged after the first battles. New organizations sprang up here and there, created by groups of persons anxious to help the men who began to appear on the streets, to help them in finding work, to give them financial assistance until their pensions should be awarded, and to advise them in all sorts of ways. The Ecole Joffre was opened in Lyons in December, 1914, and soon the idea of special schools of this new type began to spread, not only in France, but in England and Italy and across the sea. Many were

established: some under private auspices, some by municipalities, some by appropriate departments of the national government. Existing trade schools began to offer facilities for the reeducation of soldiers. Existing employment bureaus began to concern themselves with the problems of the disabled soldiers who applied for work, and in addition special agencies for them were organized in some places.

At first the various efforts were local and uncoordinated, but gradually—more gradually in some countries than in others—they have been brought into relation with one another and a national system has come into being, under a central authority, with more or less power. Volunteer effort, volunteer money and facilities, and the resources of local government, remain important elements in the system, but the principle of national supervision and at least a degree of national control, has been generally adopted.

Belgium has the simplest system. It was created by a single stroke in November, 1914, when the Minister of War decreed that incapacitated soldiers were not to be discharged from the army until they had been fitted for some occupation in civil life, and that those already discharged, unless they had already established themselves in some suitable position, were to be recalled. The unhappy position of Belgium, in exile on foreign soil, probably determined this policy, since it not only made the conservation of her human resources the more pressing, her material wealth being largely in the hands of the enemy, but also perhaps made her more sensitive to the demoralizing results of neglect, as seen in the Belgian soldiers who were already wandering around France and England, "ragged and miserable, holding out their hands for food and shelter," just as we are more conscious of our children's faults when they disturb a kind hostess than we are at home.

Disabled soldiers of Belgium, therefore, are in the charge of the Minister of War until they are considered ready to maintain an independent position in civil life. By a law of April, 1917, the decision as to when they are ready for discharge, which rests

entirely upon the "interests" of the men-themselves, is left with a commission appointed by the Minister of the Interior. In no other country are the soldiers kept in the military organization up to this point. Even in Belgium the work of the government in economic reestablishment is supplemented by some which owes its existence and its continuance largely to private philanthropy; and the decree of November, 1914, will no doubt speedily be repealed when Belgium is again opened to her returning population.

In France by 1916 there was a multitude of schools and other agencies, created by philanthropic associations and individuals, by departments and communes, by chambers of commerce and trade unions, and by half a dozen departments of the national government. The Ministries of War, Navy, Labor and Social Insurance, Commerce, Agriculture, Public Instruction and the Interior, all were involved.

These facilities overlapped in places and left serious gaps unfilled. There was a general demand for some central coordinating agency. A preliminary commission was called together early in 1915 on the initiative of the Minister of Commerce, who is responsible for the supervision of commercial and technical instruction. Dr. Bourrillon, Director at St. Maurice, was a member of this commission, and M. Bittard, author of Les Ecoles de Blessés, was its secretary. A few weeks later (April, 1915) the Minister of the Interior, after asking for an initial appropriation of one million francs with which to aid vocational schools for the disabled, created an interministerial commission to study the whole question and to consider applications for grants. At the head of this commission we find M. Brissac, the distinguished Directeur d'Assistance et d'Hygiène Publique, and it included Dr. Bourrillon of St. Maurice, Dr. Gourdon of Bordeaux, and many others who in their several capacities represented the active interest in the problem taken by the seven ministries above named and by the Ministry of Finances.

The composition of this commission was changed several times, but notwithstanding its representative character it did not

prove to be the agency which was needed for the national direction and control of this work. In March, 1916, a commission of the Chamber of Deputies recommended an Office Central de Rééducation des Mutilés in the Ministry of the Interior. A month later the same commission reported that, having learned that the Labor Ministry had already taken steps to establish an "office national" to coordinate efforts on behalf of the *mutilés* and *réformés,* the commission had modified the draft of its proposed bill. The new draft did not specify to which ministry the Office National should belong, and the provisions which it contained for the composition of the special commission on reeducation were stricken out before the bill became law, more than a year and a half later, the matter being left to be determined by ministerial decree.

The "Office National des Mutilés et Réformés de la Guerre" was therefore not created by act of Parliament, but merely recognized and regularized after it had been in existence for some two years.[1] According to the law of January 2, 1918, it is declared to be a public institution and to be attached to the Labor Ministry. The *Bulletin* for the year 1917, which publishes the text of this law, bears on its title page the names of the three Ministries—War, Labor, and Interior. The Office will necessarily continue to cooperate with all three.

In pursuance of its main function to coordinate the work of reeducation of the whole country, and especially to facilitate cooperation between the public administration and the voluntary agencies engaged in this work, the Office National has made a general registry of disabled men,[2] has kept in touch with the schools, facilitated the placement of disabled men in positions,

[1] Ministerial Arrêtés of March 2, March 16, May 11, October 17, 1916; January 19, March 8, December 27, 1917.

[2] On January 1, 1918, this registry contained the names of about 70,000 invalided soldiers (réformés No. 1) who had been held to be entitled to pensions. This is much below the actual number, as the registry begins with July, 1916, and probably does not contain all even since that date. The Pension Office of the War Ministry reports as pensioned or under consideration for permanent or temporary pensions on December 31, 1917, 210,272; and as discharged without pension (réformés No. 2), 415,764; which would give a total number of 626,036 incapacitated. (Bulletin No. 2 of the Office National, page 4.)

and encouraged the establishment of departmental committees. These committees are expected to visit the men in the hospitals, advise them about their future occupation, persuade them to take a course of training if they need it, arrange for their entry into the proper school, maintain a bureau of information for them, and also to increase the facilities for reeducation if they are inadequate for their section of the country.

Responsibility in France, therefore, is still distributed among various departments of the national government, and is still met largely by local initiative of one kind or another. The Office National is an advisory rather than an executive body, with limited powers of initiation. It is a center of information; of research, of coordination, of propaganda. Its value depends on its success in securing the adoption of its recommendations. It has the advantage of being an established governmental agency, and it can at least do a great deal toward increasing the efficiency of the facilities which already exist by publicity and by increasing their resources.

In Italy the work of providing orthopedic treatment as well as trade training for disabled soldiers was begun by local committees of private citizens, acting in cooperation with the military authorities. There was more uniformity than in France, for there was practically nothing to start with, and most of the committees and the schools which they established were modeled after the first one, in Milan. By the time such committees had been created in most of the provinces, they themselves began to feel the need of association, and formed a National Federation of Committees for the Assistance of the Blind, Lame, and Mutilated Soldiers, which has done much to spread information and raise standards, especially through the monthly magazine which it publishes. In March of 1917 a law was passed creating a National Board for the Protection and Assistance of the Invalids of War, in the Department of the Interior, in which is centralized responsibility for reeducation and for all assistance—medical, economic, and legal—which the men may need after their discharge from the army. Reeducation is not compulsory, but a

man who elects to take it is not discharged until the end of his course. The National Federation expects to dissolve as soon as the new governmental body is under way.

The National Board consists of nineteen members, four elected by the legislature, five nominated by the five departments directly concerned, four by the institutions and committees for the care of disabled soldiers, two by the Surgeon General, and four by the National Association of Disabled Soldiers themselves, which already has over twenty thousand members. It has power to inspect and supervise the work of the local committees, which retain the management of the schools they have established, and is expected to standardize the schools by virtue of its power to grant and revoke charters of the committees. It is also charged with providing medical treatment as it may be needed after discharge, material relief, aid in finding employment, and legal advice in connection with securing pensions or loans or anything else in which the men may need professional help.

Germany is the only country which has not assumed national responsibility for the reeducation and placement of men discharged from the army and navy because of disability. This work in Germany is in the hands of a network of committees, usually originating in private initiative but more or less closely affiliated with the local and state governments in the different states of the empire, which are coordinated by a National Committee formed late in 1915. The National Committee is recognized by the Imperial Government, but it is not an official body. Its functions are limited to research and publication and advice to the unofficial committees which it "coordinates," and thus it differs in its scope and in its standing from the French Office National, which works through the same methods.

Great Britain and the British colonies and the United States have all gone further than continental Europe, with the exception of Belgium, in assuming definite responsibility for the extension of the provisions for disabled soldiers beyond physical treatment and pension, and have all delegated that responsibility to a civilian branch of the government.

Great Britain, as has been noticed in a preceding section, created a quasi-official body, the Statutory Committee, at the end of 1915, which was, in addition to other duties, "to make provision for the care of disabled officers and men after they have left the service, including provision for their health, training, and employment." When the Ministry of Pensions was established a year later the Statutory Committee was incorporated in the new department, retaining its original powers and duties, but exercising and performing them "under the control of, and in accordance with the instructions of the Minister of Pensions," who, as it happened, had been one of their own number. It was an awkward situation, and within six months the Statutory Committee came to the conclusion, in which the Minister of Pensions concurred, although his "loyalty to his old colleagues had prevented his raising the question himself," "that in the public interest, and also in that of those for whose benefit the Statutory Committee were constituted, it is desirable that their functions should, subject to the necessary modifications, be transferred to the Minister of Pensions." The Statutory Committee was accordingly dissolved, and since September, 1917, entire responsibility has rested with the Ministry of Pensions. This does not mean either that a new series of institutions has been created by the state, nor that the government has "taken over" existing agencies completely. It means that a department of the government, with a minister in the Cabinet, is charged with seeing that the state's responsibility is carried out, but that this department is expected to fulfil its function largely by stimulating local and private effort. All the elements of a comprehensive system which already existed in departments of government or in private charitable enterprises are utilized; missing features are supplied in whatever way seems most expedient, but ordinarily by a combination of private and public resources, plant and equipment frequently being supplied by the former, running expenses by the latter.

In Canada there has been a particularly interesting development. In the spring of 1915 a civilian agency, the Military

Hospitals Commission, was created to provide for the physical care of members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force who were invalided home, apparently because the military authorities were so fully occupied with mobilizing forces and getting them across the Atlantic that they had not the time or resources to give the needed attention to the disabled men who were coming back. The functions of the Military Hospitals Commission were soon extended to include provision for occupational training and general instruction and assistance in finding employment. In 1917 a parliamentary investigation of the system in force gave an opportunity for considering the difficulties arising from the "dual control" of military and civil authorities, and the theory of their relation to each other, and a little later a reorganization was effected which more clearly defined the field of each and materially reduced the points of friction.

A Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment was created in the Dominion Government, with a minister in the Cabinet, to which was entrusted the welfare of all soldiers from the day of their discharge from the army. The Canadian Army Medical Corps, on the other hand, was charged with the treatment of wounded or invalided men up to the time of discharge. The old Military Hospitals Commission became the Invalided Soldiers' Commission, a division of the new department. It was relieved of all responsibility for the physical care of the men before discharge, but still had the duty of providing for those who are so badly disabled that they need prolonged or permanent institutional care, and for those who may have a recurrence of their disability after discharge. It retains also complete responsibility for all vocational and educational work, including what is carried on in the military hospitals among men not yet discharged. It has thus lost the very function to which it originally owed its creation—the provision of hospitals and convalescent homes for returning soldiers—(though not until it had made the provision); while it keeps all the duties which were assigned to it or which it assumed from time to time as the result of recognition of additional needs on the part of the soldiers. The

military authorities, on the other hand, resume, by their own desire, duties which in 1915 they found incompatible with their primary task of raising an army. The new department, of which the Invalided Soldiers' Commission is one branch and the Board of Pension Commissioners another, is a civilian department, and its task is to plan for the reestablishment in civil life of all the Canadian soldiers when they come home from the war. For the present, however, it is concerned of course mainly with the disabled.

The Military Hospitals Commission, and its successor, the Invalided Soldiers' Commission, has had much greater powers of initiative than any of the corresponding national governmental agencies in European countries. It is primarily executive, not advisory, and while existing agencies and volunteer assistance have been utilized as far as possible, and the cooperation of the provincial and local governments has been counted upon, much more has been created out of whole cloth, and the Canadian "system" is much more nearly in fact a unified, comprehensive, standardized system than are those of the European countries, where the standardization and unification have not progressed very far beyond the stage of architect's drawings.

Australia and New Zealand also have created new departments of their national government, coordinate with the other departments of administration, to assist discharged soldiers—whether disabled or not—in effecting a graceful return to civilian life. In Australia it is the Ministry of Repatriation; in New Zealand, the Returned Soldiers' Information Department. In the end the bulk of their work will be for the men who are demobilized uninjured at the end of the war, but at present they are chiefly occupied with the disabled who have returned home.

The United States has also placed responsibility for the "vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment" of those who need such assistance in a civilian branch of the national government, but not one created for the purpose. After considering an interdepartmental commission, representing the De-

partments of the Treasury, War, Navy, Labor and the Federal Board for Vocational Education, the final decision was to utilize the existing Board for Vocational Education. This is a recently created organ of the national government, with an interdepartmental character of its own, since the Secretaries of Agriculture, of Commerce, and of Labor, and the Commissioner of Education, are ex officio members. Its function is to assist and supervise the States in the use of the appropriations for vocational education made to them by the federal government, to prepare teachers for these subjects, and to conduct research which will further vocational training in agriculture and the trades and industries.

By this arrangement federal financial aid to the States in their provision for the reeducation of disabled soldiers is contemplated, and federal stimulus and direction. The educational feature of the program is emphasized. No special provision has yet been made for assistance in finding employment, nor for the miscellaneous needs which may beset the disabled soldier after discharge. With the beginnings we have made—financial indemnities administered by a bureau of the Treasury Department, and reeducation by this independent board, affiliated with four of the old departments—it would be difficult to erect a Ministry of Repatriation which would take general charge of the soldier's or sailor's interests from the time he leaves the service; but we may wish we could, as we realize one after another the needs still to be provided for and the difficulties arising from "dismembering" each man's interests by entrusting each phase of his restoration to a separate branch of the government.

Mental Preparation

The foundation for resuming life under favorable auspices is an attitude of determination and hope. Expectation of success, rather than despondency; confidence in the ability to continue to be of some importance in the world, rather than resignation to a state of dependence, are indispensable.

It is the exceptional man who does not need advice and encouragement and stimulus when he faces the future after losing his sight or his hearing or an arm or a leg. The exceptional man "figures out," while he is lying in the hospital, as one and another of them has said, that it is "up to him" to make more use of his brain, now that his arm is gone, to "show what he's made of," to refuse to be "downed," and so on. He teaches himself to write with his left hand before he is out of bed; he devises tricks that make it possible to dress himself without help and to manage his food at the table without exciting compassion or even notice. He "figures out" what he can best do for a living and he makes a success of it. He does not allow his injury to cheat him of any of the elements of a full and happy life.

The average man, however, wakes up after the operation to black depression and dismay. He sees nothing before him but a life of idleness or a position as watchman or doorkeeper. Very likely he does not view the prospect of idleness with horror if he has means of subsistence or relatives on whom he can count for support. The soldier, especially, is apt to feel that an easy existence for the future is his due: he has done enough, for his part, and it is "up to" the state to look out for him for the rest of his life. He fastens his hopes on his pension, and his extreme ambition is a government position, with a salary, but no duties to speak of. He has deserved well of his country and should not be expected to make any further exertion. This disposition is no doubt aggravated in the present war by the excessive fatigue—mental as well as physical—of many of the men at the time they receive their injury. The natural thing is to yield to lethargy. The first reaction, especially in the vigorous, well fed young men from America and Australia, may be, as is often reported, impatience to get back to the front, but even with them apathy is likely to set in when they learn that they are out of the war permanently.

To yield to lethargy is fatal, and vigorous efforts to combat this natural tendency are a part of the new program. By the

personal interest of the surgeons and attendants—the degree of which varies with their conception of their function and their understanding of the economic and social problems in the case and the pressure on their time, and which increases usually all along the line of successive institutions from dressing station to discharge; by placards and leaflets telling of what others have accomplished distributed in the hospitals; by talks to the men from vocational directors; by the incidental influence of the teachers of the "therapeutic occupations"; and in some places by the services of persons specially provided for this purpose, the wounded men are encouraged to believe that they may still be useful and happy, and furthermore, are made to see that they still have duty to society, that,

> si la société a des devoirs envers eux, ils sont à leur tour tenus d'offrir à la patrie, après leur héroisme et leurs souffrances, ce qui leur reste de forces, d'habileté et de volonté, pour concourir, autant qu'il sera en leur pouvoir, à la rénovation économique de leur pays.[1]

The whole influence of the process of functional reeducation, moreover, is also in this direction, since it assumes physical restoration and since it demands that active exertion on the part of the patient which is one of the best agencies for dissipating despondency and cultivating a habit of effort. In Canada the vocational counselors of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission get acquainted with the men as soon as they arrive in the country, establishing personal relations in the hospitals while they are still under treatment. In France this office is performed by the representatives of the departmental committees; in Germany by the local committees for the care of war cripples; in England by the local committees of the Pensions Ministry. In the United States we are to have "cheer-up men" as a part of the "reconstruction" staff of the military hospitals, work in close cooperation with the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

Inadequate or blundering functional reeducation, delay in supplying prosthetic appliances, failure to supply the kind best

[1] Bourrillon: *Comment Rééduquer les Mutilés de la Guerre?*

adapted to the individual needs, delays in discharge and award of pensions, well meant but ill advised efforts of kind women who surfeit the heroes in the hospitals with entertainment and teach them trivial occupations which foster the idea that no serious effort will ever again be required of them—such things contribute to the natural disposition of the wounded men to take a passive attitude toward life, and need to be guarded against for this reason as well as because they are obviously undesirable from other points of view also.

Sentimental pampering is absolutely banned from the new program. In its place is substituted intelligent, stimulating sympathy. The wounded soldiers must not be treated like "enfants gâtés"; they must learn that "ce n'est pas seulement à la guerre que l'homme doit lutter et que, avec la vie qui s'ouvre à nouveau devant eux, reprendra l'éternel combat qui est ici-bas la destinée de chacun." [1] Much depends on the "general atmosphere," not only in the hospital, but also at home and in public places and among all associates. The "education of the public" therefore is of great importance even from this angle, as an element in creating the right attitude of mind among the soldiers themselves, as it is even more in connection with securing them an opportunity to earn a living after they are properly equipped to do so. It is expected in the United States that the Home Service of the Red Cross will be a strong force in helping to create the right sentiment in the community, through its relations with the families of the men, frequently established while the men are at the front. The creation, or the encouragement and confirmation, of the right mental attitude toward the future, whether in the men or in their families and friends, is best accomplished by personal contact and personal influence. It can not be done wholesale, and upon it depends the success of the entire subsequent program of reeducation and return to work.

Force will be added to all these considerations by the reflection that after the war is over the nation will really need the full mental and physical contribution of all the ex-soldiers, whether

[1] Bourrillon: *op. cit.*, p. 13.

able-bodied or not. There will be no surplus energy to waste. It is not a fiction but a reality that the utmost that each man can do will be needed then as it has been needed during the war. If this sense of an actual need of his own particular contribution, reduced though it may be below what he would have been capable of giving if uninjured, can be successfully brought home to every returning war cripple, it will perhaps call forth a more hearty and universal response than any appeal based on the supposed benefit to himself. We may well revive the spirit of the Sanitary Commission of half a century ago, as expressed, for example, by Dr. Ordronaux (see above, page 39) when he said that the disabled soldiers, as citizens, "still have burthens to bear, as well as privileges to enjoy, in common with the rest."

"Orientation"

After the desire for activity has been aroused, and the ambition to do his utmost rather than to get along with his pension and the help of his relatives, the next step for the disabled soldier is to decide how he will earn his living; whether he will go back to his former occupation, or if he can not, or if he had none, what he can best do. *"Orientation"* the French call this, and it is hard to find a word that expresses the process more vividly. On his *orientation* depends his whole future, and those who are responsible for helping him to accomplish it must needs realize this. M. de Paeuw, after describing the methods at Port-Villez for arriving at a decision as to a man's course of education, concludes by saying:

> Vous voyez, cher lecteur, que nous nous entourons d'un luxe de précautions pour ne pas faire fausse route, car ce serait criminel de lancer un mutilé qui n'a pas de temps à perdre dans un métier qui ne lui conviendrait pas.[1]

The suggestion is frequently made that a chart should be drawn up which would show at a glance what occupations can be successfully prosecuted by men with different disabilities. A man would then have only to consult this chart to see what

[1] *La Rééducation Professionnelle des Soldats Mutilés et Estropiés*, p. 43.

ways were open to him. If his previous trade were listed opposite his infirmity, the question would be settled. If not, he could select one of those which were in the list. It would be very simple and "scientific."

Nothing, however, has been more clearly demonstrated by the experience of the last three or four years than that all classifications are dangerous, and that any attempt to reduce the process of orientation to mechanical simplicity is fatal. There are too many elements entering into the calculation, and some of them—such as "character" and "temperament" and "tastes" —which do not accommodate themselves to exact ratings, are as important as the physical infirmity. In fact, it often seems that the physical infirmity is the least important factor of all. Possibilities of adaptation to injury, of making another member do the work of the one that is lost or useless, are so great that it can not be assumed that all the parts of the body customarily used in a given occupation are essential. "Il serait téméraire de vouloir dresser une liste des métiers qui peuvent être enseignés à des mutilés," says Dr. Bourrillon, "car une ingénieuse et déconcertante habileté permet souvent à ceux-ci d'exécuter des travaux qui, à première vue, leur semblaient interdits." Even vision can be dispensed with in many operations for which it is called upon when we have it. What Dr. Amar has said of the blind is equally true in principle, substituting "member" for "sense," of men injured in other ways: "Nous vivons avec nos sens, un peu par nécessité, et beaucoup par habitude. L'aveugle doit perdre l'habitude et se contenter de la nécessité." [1]

In plans for the future of the disabled man attention must be centered on the powers which remain to him, not on those he has lost. The ideal is not to search for something for him to do which does not call into action the particular member or faculty which is missing, but to find something which he can do superlatively well with the equipment which he has or can develop.

[1] *Organization physiologique du travail.*

It follows that successful orientation of the disabled soldier rests upon a careful study of his individual capacities and environment. "It speedily developed," says Mr. Kidner of their experience in Canada, "that it was an individual problem in every case; . . . that we should have to take every individual case and study it in the light of the man's whole nature and of the opportunities he had had and of the remaining possibilities in him. And that is the beginning and end of our theories on the work." "L'orientation professionnelle devra être envisagée dans chaque cas en particulier"; "Tout est individuel"; such reflections color all the discussion of the subject by the men who have had most experience. The procedure, moreover, which has been adopted in different countries for reaching decisions about the candidates for reeducation, providing as they do for elaborate analysis of the man's physical and mental qualifications, economic and social circumstances, and individual inclinations, testify to the practical acceptance of the principle.

The preferred procedure is for each man to come before a small committee consisting of men competent to advise on the various aspects of vital consequence, who discuss with him his proposals and desires, on the basis of documentary information about his physical condition, his intellectual equipment, and so on, until together they arrive at a conclusion. Personal conference with the candidate is considered important. Dr. Carle of Lyons, at the first Inter-Allied Conference, deplored the tendency in some schools, arising from the pressure of a great number of applicants, "à établir, pour l'admission, un classement automatique par fiches, sur simple demande, souvent sur simple réception d'une lettre." Unfortunately ideals are everywhere more or less subject to the limitations of time and strength and other resources, and this is no exception. In the pressure of the present circumstances men's future lives are no doubt frequently disposed of perfunctorily, even by officials who realize the consequences, but that is not the intention of the new program.

The composition of the "commissions of orientation" has been determined by the conception of the considerations which should

be taken into account. In some circles there was at first a disposition to claim that the decision ought to rest with the medical profession. But, to quote M. de Paeuw once more:

> L'homme n'est pas seulement un organisme qui a notamment des bras et des jambes, c'est aussi un être doué d'intelligence et de sensibilité, de passions et de goûts, de préférences et de ressentiments, de volonté libre surtout. C'est, de plus, un être qui vit dans un milieu déterminé, d'où il y a intérêt pour la collectivité de ne pas le tirer.

It would be safe to leave the man's fate with the doctor "à la condition toutefois que le médecin fût doublé d'un pédagogue, d'un technicien, et d'un sociologue." But since "cette accumulation de capacités si diverses dans une même personne est extrèmement rare" the solution is to bring the desired qualifications together, in several persons united in a committee. A medical man is indispensable, though his function may be described by the educators as "negative." The other members usually include a representative of vocational education and a man who is acquainted with conditions of labor, preferably one who knows the industrial situation in the locality where the candidate lives.

The ideal is that the candidate should himself take the initiative in choosing his career, and that the committee should merely exercise a veto function if the proposed occupation is incompatible with his physical limitations or with his experience and previous training and mental ability, or is one in which there is not a good outlook for the future. The decision can not be left entirely to his "free fantasy," because he may not know enough about the possibilities open to him, and because he may easily be influenced by a transient impulse or by the fad of the moment among his companions, as was the case at one time with motor mechanics in Canada. Most men have surprisingly little imagination about what they can or would like to do, and need suggestions and guidance at this critical point. It is essential that the candidate should at any rate cordially concur in the final decision, for otherwise there is little hope of its being a success. He will make but indifferent progress in his training,

will probably not finish the course, or if he does, will soon abandon the occupation when he is free from the influence of instructors and advisers.

It is generally agreed that a man should return to his former occupation if possible, unless his own interest forbids; if not to the particular position he used to hold, then to one as nearly like it as may be. This seems almost axiomatic, for it is obviously "plus logique, plus facile, et plus économique," as Dr. René Sand commented at the Inter-Allied Conference in 1917. In older countries, moreover, where a certain "equilibrium" of trades and callings has been established, there is some concern that this equilibrium should not be disturbed by an artificial redistribution. At first, as Dr. Camus says, there was a sense of adventure about reeducation which discounted such practical considerations as economy and permanent utility, but

> nous commençons à sortir de cette phase. . . . On sent qu'il faut maintenant éviter ces plaisanteries de bienfaitrices, animées de bonnes intentions, mais irréfléchies, qui sont ravies d'avoir transformé en stenographe un brave cultivateur qui avait de solides attaches à la terre et la possibilité de retourner à elle; ce sont là des acrobaties absurdes et coupables.[1]

This assumption that every man who can should return to his former occupation simplifies the task of orientation very greatly in societies where there is a high degree of economic stability, where most men, by the time they reach the age of twenty-one, have a recognized niche in the industrial organization, and where methods of production are not changing too rapidly. Even in the older countries, however, it can not be followed too rigidly. It must not be allowed to "hypnotize" us, as Dr. Carle says, to the point of losing sight of the man's real interest. "L'intérêt du mutilé," M. de Paeuw puts as the first of his guiding principles for orientation, "doit être au centre des préoccupations de la commission." His interest points toward a change, even when his physical condition does not impose it, if his old occupation was one in which wages were low or con-

[1] Quoted in Broca et Ducroquet: *La Prothèse des amputés en chirurgie de guerre.*

ditions unfavorable to health, or was one which was distasteful to him. Even in the older countries, therefore, there are many exceptions to the rule, for even there men have not always found the place in economic life for which they are best fitted. In countries like America, where the occupation a young man is in is more likely to be determined by chance than by his taste and abilities, where many of the men in the army have no "former occupation" and where the mobility of labor is so great as to approach fluidity, the cases in which the rule can be applied may prove to be the exception. That does not mean that the principle is not sound, but that it is sound only when it is applied with discretion, and when the individual's interest is the primary object in view. In Germany resumption of the old occupation has been insisted upon so relentlessly as to call forth protests. Some of our Congressmen, at the other extreme, far from wishing to keep anyone at his old level, would like to offer a chance for further education and advancement at the expense of the nation to every soldier who comes back with "a broader vision."

Trade unions naturally urge, even when it is fully realized that this means increasing their own burdens, that men should return to their own trades. For one thing, assuming that the man was a member of the union and therefore presumably technically qualified, this enables the standard of qualifications to be maintained. Trade unionists fear the danger of sending large numbers of hastily trained men into occupations in which they will depress standards and wages. If the man returns to his old trade, he will be more apt to return also to old friends and associations. He will have a certain claim on his union in finding employment, and if necessary, for temporary relief. Employers generally might be expected to share this natural conservatism, and to prefer a readapted and if necessary retaught carpenter, printer, or machine operator who had grown up in or at least completely mastered the trade before his injury, rather than one who after reaching manhood comes into a trade because physically disqualified for going on with his old one.

On the other hand, there is a natural popular response to the

idea expressed in the socialist declaration already quoted, that the latent capacity of workingmen should be developed on every occasion, and that there should be no presumption in favor of holding a man to his old trade if there is reason to think that after training he would succeed in a better one.

It is equally axiomatic that men should return if possible to their old social milieu. "Il faut laisser les terriens à la terre, les artisans ruraux dans leurs villages, les citadins à la ville," says Dr. Alleman. Further, it is both natural and desirable that they should go back to their own particular city or village or country district, where they are familiar with opportunities and conditions of employment, and where they have acquaintances who will take a personal interest in their reestablishment.

As a corollary to either or both of these fundamental propositions, it follows that agriculturists should return to some agricultural occupation. A tendency to the contrary was at first strong in some places, partly because there was little confidence that any one at all seriously disabled could be successful in agricultural pursuits, and partly because it was hard to resist the exodus from the country to the town which was already in progress. As it came to be demonstrated, more and more convincingly, in France and England, that the crippled and even the blind could manage poultry raising, vegetable, gardening, dairy farming, bee keeping, and other agricultural specialties, quite as well as some of the occupations which convention had assumed to be more suitable to them, and as the increasing use of tractors and other machines in Canada made a place for many in large-scale farming, it was seen that the interest of the disabled agricultural laborer or farmer did not conflict with the interest of the state in checking the depletion of rural labor. The increasing substitution of machinery for human toil even on the small farms in Europe, transforming agriculture into "a veritable industry," not only puts it within the reach of many who formerly would have been unequal to it, but also creates a new rural occupation, that of "agricultural mechanic," for which a certain number of *mutilés* of rural origin may well be

fitted. In France the problem of the small rural proprietor who has been crippled is frequently solved by teaching him a trade which he can exercise as a subsidiary occupation.

There has been considerable testimony that in France and Germany the disabled soldiers, even those who come from cities, manifest a great longing for a rural life. A little plot of land of his own, a cottage and a garden, is the choice of many a war-wearied hero. In Canada, on the other hand, it is reported that "the land" has no attraction for the men who come back from intimate contact with the soil of Flanders; they have had enough of the land. Experience has shown that in any case a mere sentimental or esthetic inclination toward life in the country is not sufficient to insure economic success in an agricultural career. For one thing, the inclination may not last. And so previous experience on a farm at some time in life is now generally required of a candidate either for training in an agricultural occupation or for a loan to enable him to buy a rural property. In other words, the converse of the proposition that a man should return to his former occupation has been established with respect to agriculture—that a disabled man should be assisted toward an agricultural occupation only if that was his former occupation.

Whether a man returns to his previous occupation or takes up a new one, the decision as to what he shall do should rest on his adaptation to the requirements of the occupation and the standing of the occupation as a producer of income. If it is decided that a man should not return to his former occupation, or if he has no former occupation to return to, it is especially incumbent upon his advisers to consider his choice, since a mistake means at best a waste of time, and may result in discouragement and loss of ambition and complete failure. Not only his personal qualifications for the new occupation should be considered, but also the standing of the occupation and its outlook for the future. He should not be directed toward one which is already overcrowded or which is on the decline in the locality where he expects to live, or for which the demand is only tempo-

rary or factitious. It is a mistake, for example, to let a man build his hopes for the future on the ready sale which his toys or souvenirs may command for the moment on account of their appeal to sympathy and charity. For practical reasons it is not expedient that he should choose something which requires a long or expensive preparation. Some authorities, especially in France and Belgium, are opposed to directing *amputés* toward factory work of any kind, laying it down as a general principle that the independent life of an artisan or small employer is preferable for them. American prejudice against home work and the overwhelming tendency toward organization and use of power machinery would make us slow to accept this as a practical precept, though it must of course be considered in individual cases. Some French authorities think that men who have lost an arm, especially if it is amputated at the shoulder, should not be encouraged to do manual work if they have enough mental ability for anything else. In general, the aim is to make the man specially expert in whatever occupation he chooses, so that he may compete with the able-bodied; and great reliance is placed upon developing the mental powers to redress the physical loss. A negative counsel is frequently encountered among French writers: not to foster the too general desire for a "petite poste" in the civil service, not to make of the disabled soldiers "de miséreux en redingote."

It is considered desirable to regard the first decision, however carefully reached, as tentative, and to watch the man's progress attentively for indications that it ought to be changed.

Reeducation

Enthusiastic advocates of vocational reeducation, like all enthusiasts in a comparatively new crusade, are in danger of losing a due sense of proportion. This is seen in the numerous proposals that it should be made obligatory upon all blind, deaf, or crippled ex-soldiers who are deemed by some constituted governmental authority to be unable to support themselves without it in their former occupations. Efficiency engineers have

roundly declared that a universally obligatory system is the only one that will have a ghost of a chance of success. The same lack of sober common sense is seen in the proposal seriously urged in various countries that no man should be discharged until his vocational retraining as well as his physical and functional restoration is entirely completed; that the military hospital régime should be extended, with the discipline and control which it implies, long after the wounds are consolidated and convalescence completed, merely to make sure that no one shall escape the blessings of formal reeducational classes. It is seen even among those who do not advocate compulsion, in the laments that so many of the intended beneficiaries do not take advantage of the facilities offered to them; or do not accept them in the right proportions, obstinately preferring, for example, light sedentary occupations to farming, or those which do not require technical preparation to others better paid which do; or that men seek petty administrative posts rather than productive positions in the trades, although the law has invited this very course by expressly reserving such administrative positions both in public service and in private enterprises which are dependent on public favors.

Most extraordinary of all the proposals for insuring a benevolent reeducation for every American citizen who might be so unfortunate as to lose his eyes or a hand or other useful portion of his body while wearing the uniform of a private soldier, was one which would have induced the government to enter into a formal contract with employers on a large scale, by which, remaining under military orders and discipline, the war cripples would be distributed into the various industries, where they would be prepared as quickly as possible to perform some semi-skilled operation, receiving apprentice's wages in the meantime and such wages later as they might be capable of earning, their pension being withheld if they did not accept the work offered them and in any case gradually reduced as earning power increased. The motive behind the suggestion, which came from Americans living in Europe, was undoubtedly a patriotic one—

the thought that manufacturers should contribute the teaching and training which disabled men need rather than that the nation should have to meet the considerable expense of it after the war from taxation. It is only a *reductio ad absurdum,* however, of much that has been proposed and seriously urged in many countries, and from many different points of view: patriotic, sentimental, economic and perhaps exploitive.

The adequate national program for reeducation is neither sentimental nor in any degree militaristic. It does not contemplate forcing a new vocation or a trade education on any able-minded adult citizen, however seriously he may have been injured; nor, on the other hand, does it contemplate leaving him without social aid and protection. This must take many forms, of which his pension or, in the United States, his compensation, and, when he is entitled to it, his insurance, are the starting point. Medical, surgical and orthopedic care, artificial appliances, personal attention of neighbors and voluntary agencies like the Red Cross Home Service, follow in their natural course from the moment of injury to the moment of complete recuperation and restoration.

The average war cripple, recovering a reasonable degree of health and ambition, will be grateful for all such attentions—and at the earliest possible moment will gratefully wave them aside, finding his own natural place and occupation as soon as convalescence is ended, often before. He will need no vocational guide or guardian. He may seek advice, but if so will choose his own counsel and, if all we have learned about the value of military training and foreign experience is true, he will often be more embarrassed by a choice of positions offered him, even though handicapped, than by difficulty in finding means of support. All are agreed that something like this is what happens in the case of the vast majority of discharged cripples in every country. The question is whether we are to rejoice or to lament that it is so. Consider the figures quoted earlier from France: more than six hundred thousand discharged invalids, according to the pension office, one-third of them with pensions already

secured or in prospect. The most liberal estimate of those who have attended reeducational courses, even there where schools have been in operation longest, are best developed, most varied in character and most widely distributed, is twenty thousand. cnly about one-third of whom had completed even brief courses averaging four months. The schools have not yet reached the normal maximum capacity, yet even now they are not two-thirds full.

If Americans should prove to be equally reluctant to take reeducational courses when they become available, shall we regard it as a national misfortune or simply as an indication that the ex-soldiers are doing very well on their own account?

We shall have to discriminate. By appreciating the limitations of the problem of reeducation from the beginning we shall avoid disillusion and may avoid the excusable mistakes of other countries in the early years of their experiments. The presumption is not that reeducation will be required but overwhelmingly that it will not. The schools are for exceptional invalids who do not easily and naturally make their own readjustments. Vocational reeducation thus differs radically from functional reeducation, which is a normal part of almost every surgical or orthopedic treatment. Everyone, even an able-bodied man, needs to know how to use his body, and the sad fact is that very few do have this necessary knowledge and practice it. After an accident or an injury, every one needs to be advised by doctor, nurse, or physical instructor how to bring the injured limbs, or the stump if there has been amputation, or the other organs if there must be compensation, into full usefulness. Not every adult, because he has lost an arm or has a stiff knee, requires to learn a new trade, as some would almost seem to think. Ex-soldiers and ex-sailors may seem like children while they are in the hospital but soon the returning tides of health and strength, the power of self-determination and ready adaptation, produce their natural results. Interrupted life plans are renewed, or new plans—matured, it may be, in the camp or trench or even in the hospital—take their place and the nation has lost its

problem. The individual has become again, as when he was drafted, a national asset.

The discussion has been confused by the real difficulty in distinguishing sharply between the functional reeducation and vocational reeducation. Sometimes in fact there is no difference, except, as Judge Mack said of the difference between pension and compensation, in the underlying motive. A clerk loses his right hand, for example, and learns left-hand writing. Strictly speaking it is an instance of functional education, as the use of the left hand is to compensate for that of the right. There is no question of a new vocation or, on the other hand, of retraining muscles which have fallen into disuse. But it is much nearer like the latter than like the former. When it is finished the vocational problem is solved. The clerk may resume his old place or take another as good or better. He may have to pick up dropped threads and rehabituate himself to office routine; but essentially his economic usefulness is unimpaired. A farmer who has modern farm machinery loses one leg. He must learn to walk with a practical artificial leg, to manage a mower, harvester and cultivator with one good leg instead of two, inventing or discovering, it may be, some device for managing certain levers, but it does not follow that he has to learn anything about farming. Functional adaptation, the adjustment of necessary appliances, an appreciation of his physical limitations, are necessary, but not vocational reeducation in any proper sense of the term. He needs the help of doctor or physical director, possibly of a mechanic; but not, by hypothesis, of an agricultural teacher.

Very different is the situation of the city clerk or mechanic who, physically disqualified from resuming his old occupation and ambitious to turn to farming, gardening or horticulture, needs to learn from the foundation the elements of the new vocation. Even a farm boy, who has not already had such training, may seek the opportunity to become a real farmer instead of a mere farm laborer or a mere farm owner, in which case he may need to do just what the former clerk or shop hand would do.

To rule out from the vocational training schools the vast number who will readjust themselves without help and those who require functional rather than occupational training, is to make their own task manageable, but not unimportant. The field indeed remains vast enough to tax the available national resources and to offer splendid scope to the highest genius in educational administration.

Several distinct plans for furnishing vocational education are available:

I. The use of existing technical schools. This is the favorite method in England and it has been widely used elsewhere. In France the inspectors and teachers in technical schools have taken an active interest in the organizing of special classes for *mutilés*. The Ministry of Commerce has organized special schools and special classes in existing schools. In Germany, where technical education has been pushed to the highest point, a trade school is available even in the small towns, and in the larger places an entire institution for technical education may be taken over for the use of disabled soldiers.

The chief difficulty in this system lies in reconciling the ordinary schedule, devised for young people who are preparing for their life work under such different conditions, with the needs of the disabled adults whose time is short and who should work as nearly as possible under the conditions of their immediately prospective employment. When the technical school is well supplied with up-to-date machinery or appliances and with up-to-date teachers the plan works well. In the United States and Canada schools of this kind are as yet few in number, but it is possible that the demand in behalf of the war cripples may stimulate their development, especially as it is the Federal Board for Vocational Education which is charged with meeting the demand. Short intensive unit courses will be a necessary feature of technical schools which are to be useful to disabled soldiers.

II. Apprenticeship. From the beginning there have been those who think that the shop is a better place than the school for the handicapped adult to make his new adjustment to in-

dustry. It involves grave risk of a loss of time with no real teaching or advance in skill. It may lead into a dead-end occupation. It may be looked upon merely as a means of securing cheap labor. If, however, there is a carefully prepared apprenticeship contract, the terms of which have been scrutinized by an official inspector or an educational authority; if there is a genuine interest on the part of the employer and a sympathetic attitude on the part of fellow workmen, the apprenticeship may often be an ideal method.

The French pension law provides for financial encouragement of such a system, with control through the local labor inspector, and one of the most general forms of voluntary assistance to *mutilés* has been in the form of maintenance while learning a trade under a sympathetic employer. In England the local committees may include such plans in the schemes which they submit for approval. In Canada this system, regarded askance at first because of what seem to have been hasty inferences from French experience, has more recently come into distinct favor. As the apprentice receives his vocational pay from the government, the employer has no reason for regarding him as a producer and no excuse for driving him to work faster than his education demands.

The great advantage of the system is that it widens at once enormously the number of trades which can be offered. In May, 1918, Canadians were being trained in ninety-seven different occupations, whereas at an earlier period before men were thus placed directly in shops the authorities found that they had over five hundred men in thirty-nine occupations, of whom eighty per cent were in only twelve occupations. Even in the best technical schools it was not possible to teach more than ten or fifteen trades. In the United States the Federal Board will have ample power to provide for shop instruction on an apprenticeship system if they so desire, although the budget for the first year makes no special provision for this method of teaching new trades. Probably because of the danger that apprenticeship may degenerate into a device for cheap labor, and because of the

difficulty of adequate supervision, less advantage may be taken of this alternative than might be advisable.

III. Boarding Schools for Vocational Education. The so-called "Internat" is the system which is by far most in favor among the French authorities. All the more famous schools are conducted on this principle. In the institution which is devoted exclusively to the trade education of cripples and in which they live for the twenty-four hours of the day, the whole process can be thoroughly organized; every minute can be made to count; medical supervision is easy; pedagogical experiments can be made and controlled; the progress of each pupil can be carefully scrutinized; an *esprit de corps* is created; standards are established and experience gained in a degree which no other system permits. In France, as we have seen, such schools are started by various governmental bodies, national, departmental, or communal, and by voluntary agencies. They are encouraged and subsidized by the state and are supervised in a measure by the Office National; but free scope is given to work out individual conceptions and to try experiments.

This type of school may be modified in either direction. It may admit day pupils to work by the side of its boarders, or it may send out its pupils to work in shops or other day schools.

IV. The Day School created exclusively for war cripples differs from the one just described only in not controlling the time of pupils outside the class room. It is thus relieved of considerable expense and has somewhat greater freedom of choice in location. Such schools are sometimes necessary adjuncts to orthopedic centers, where soldiers are still under medical oversight. The Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops in London and the Red Cross Institute in New York are of this type.

Disabled men while pursuing vocational courses usually receive either their soldier's pay or the pension to which they are entitled, and if a separation allowance has been paid to the family that is usually continued. Sometimes special additional inducements of a financial kind are offered. In England, for

example, a bonus of five shillings a week is paid at the end to those who complete a course of training, and as much as £10 may be granted to provide tools for the trade learned. In France the separation allowance is given and the board of the pupil as well as his instruction is free, but he receives only a nominal sum for personal expenses.

The schools are supported by fees from the state for tuition, and by subsidies, voluntary gifts, sale of the products of students' work, etc. Generally what is received from the last mentioned source goes to the workers or for materials.

In Canada it is reported that a strict policy of admission to reeducational courses has been necessary because of the demand for them. Under the law only those are eligible who are physically unable to resume their former occupations. The English, French and American laws are more liberal and permit training to be given to other classes, although a mere desire to change occupations would not ordinarily be regarded as sufficient reason for giving a course at public expense. As a rule it has been the practice—and has been necessary—to persuade men to come into the courses rather than to discourage them from coming.

Placement

In any comprehensive national plan for disabled soldiers and sailors prominence will be given as a final stage to their distribution and redistribution in industry, commerce, and agriculture so as to bring about the most perfect adjustment possible to the demand for their services. The schools will naturally seek to place their own graduates and will easily develop a clientèle sufficient to absorb all whom they can recommend. Apprenticeship systems likewise lead naturally into permanent employment. Some handicapped men will go directly from hospitals or convalescent depots into particular occupations appropriate to their condition, chosen on the advice of physician or expert in vocational guidance. Others, as we have sufficiently insisted, will find their own places as the result of former associ-

ations and acquaintance, frequently as the result of comradeship in the war.

As to the remainder—quite possibly a very large number in the aggregate—who do not readily find their natural place and who yet do not go into vocational schools, there will be a peculiar social obligation. Trade unions and relief agencies will have their part in meeting it; churches, settlements and political organizations, mutual associations formed among veterans themselves, may have their part. Primarily, however, it is the state —the federal government—which will feel and will be made to feel responsible. Itself the greatest employer of labor in the world during the war, and by closing down war industries necessarily throwing large numbers out of employment, the government, unless it adopts far-reaching preventive measures, will add to the difficulties of the very problem which will press so severely on the disabled ex-soldiers and sailors seeking employment.

The development of an adequate system of national employment exchanges in the United States will become essential. The germ of such a system existed before the war. The Bureau of Immigration had felt the need of means of distributing immigrants and the Labor Department had seized upon this beginning as an entering wedge for what might become a system of national employment exchanges like those of France or England. Unfortunately, however, the constitutionality of such a system was not beyond doubt as soon as its function extended beyond immigrants and the needs of the federal civil service itself. The States, moreover, had in many instances created their own free public employment bureaus, some of which, shaking themselves free from the methods which had discredited such bureaus in an earlier epoch, had begun to show admirable results.

The war changed the situation by making the federal government itself the greatest employer and by creating a federal interest even in the chief employments which did not actually become federal. The Department of Labor thereupon obtained a substantial appropriation ($750,000) for its federal employment service, ample constitutional warrant being found for its use in

connection with the operation of the selective draft, the "work or fight" order, and in the pressing needs of the war industries. Under the pressure of war conditions a virtual affiliation of the State employment bureaus with the federal employment service was brought about, which ignored the constitutional separation of federal and State powers and responsibilities. The same man was, in some instances, appointed to administer the two interlocking exchanges, federal and State. Thus the State employment bureaus, which alone were in a perfectly clear legal position, were strengthened and supplemented by the financial resources and the moral authority of the federal government.

The situation is one which will have to be clarified and regularized after the war; but it is doubtful whether the federal government will ever withdraw from the field. Perhaps it may find some ground on which to create a simple, comprehensive national employment exchange—analogous to the post office—with every local office responsible directly to Washington, thus making State exchanges unnecessary. What seems more probable is that employment bureaus, like public schools, will remain fundamentally subject to State control; but that the federal government will find means of influencing their work, perhaps through financial grants, through control of the interstate relations of the bureaus, and through the work done in them for immigrants, for discharged soldiers and for federal employes. The recruiting of industrial and even clerical labor for the federal civil service might properly be done through such a network of employment exchanges rather than through the Civil Service Commission.

This slight excursion from the subject under discussion is necessary in our search for the answer to the inquiry as to how the nation can best discharge its responsibility for the disabled soldiers in search of employment.

The answer is that this task should clearly be regarded not as something wholly distinct from, but rather as an integral part of the general distribution of labor. The handicapped man should have his disability reduced to a minimum, eliminated

if possible, and the logical result should follow that he is then to take the place for which all the effort of the months since he has been injured have prepared him. The employment exchange, in an adequate and well-managed system, serves all alike. It plays no favorites. This is what is desired by the restored and—except for his handicap—normal ex-soldier, now no longer to be thought even an ex-soldier, but an ordinary citizen. He is to find his place not as a matter of compassion or special sympathy, but because he is in position to offer what the labor market demands.[1] He goes therefore, if the job has not sought him already, to the place where there is most information about jobs to be had. He stands on his record and his qualifications. He wants simply a square deal in a chance to show what he can do. It will be quickly forthcoming. The general employment exchange will ordinarily know better than any private or special bureau where it is to be had.

Of course, one-armed men, one-legged men, and those who are otherwise especially handicapped, present special problems with which it will be the business of the employment exchanges to be familiar, just as women, immigrants, older men, juveniles, former munition workers, or able-bodied discharged soldiers and sailors, may present special problems. No exchange ever dealt exclusively with such superior physical material as is alone accepted for the army. The disabled soldier is only one, and not by any means the most serious, of the special problems of the general distribution of available labor. An employment

[1] The following information concerning the employment of disabled soldiers in the private establishments in France which were working for the national defense is from a report by M. Duvernoy to the Inter-Allied Conference of 1917 (p. 271). On April 1, 1917, there were nearly ten thousand so employed, about 1.6 per cent of the total number at work in these factories. They required no extraordinary consideration, though they naturally did the lighter work and especially that which could be done sitting. Occasionally notices were posted asking their comrades to give them any necessary assistance but as a rule such requests were quite superfluous. Their hours of duty were usually the same as those of their associates, but any overtime on their part, especially at night, was always voluntary. Very rarely they had a shorter day, or had the option of quitting after a certain time. They were excused when necessary in order to take special treatment. Generally speaking, the conditions of their work were identical with that of the able-bodied working in the same shops.

bureau which should deliberately limit its services to able-bodied men of maximum working capacity would be a very anti-social and freakish institution.

In its service for disabled veterans of the war the employment exchange would naturally keep in mind certain fundamental considerations which would equally apply to many other classes, and to the man's own decision as to what he wants to do, as discussed above under "Orientation." They will do better, other things being equal, in the community and in the particular trade in which they lived and worked before the war. If not capable of going back to exactly the same work, there will be an advantage in remaining if practicable at least in the same general industry. This will utilize the large invested capital which every man has in his familiarity with any particular industry: its processes, its terms, and its traditions.

If necessary to change, preference should be given to normal employment where there is a chance for advancement and the man is paid for the work he does, rather than to places in the public service to which the disabled veteran is entitled by some preferential law or by a sympathetic attitude which may not prove to be lasting. There will be some men for whom these will seem to be the only available openings, but they should be reserved as a last resort for such candidates. There may even be some who can not be employed either in ordinary industry or in such reserved positions, and whose only chance for partial self-support and useful occupation would be in a sheltered position, perhaps on a semi-philanthropic basis, like the Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops. The ideal is to reduce this kind of permanent relief by work to an absolute minimum, and when such special shops are necessary to seek to make them as nearly as possible self-supporting. Otherwise, whatever euphemisms may be used, the workers in them are pensioners rather than producers.

The fundamental consideration is not to create of the cripple or otherwise handicapped a class apart, but to treat the individual on his merits, the physical handicap as only one element

to be considered on its merits among many others, probably not by any means the most important in any given case. A bad temper or a poor memory or an unfortunate nativity or an unpopular religion, might easily be much more troublesome than the lack of an eye or a hand. The disabilities of the war are to be swallowed up as completely as possible and as quickly as possible among the general economic and social disabilities, which are studied one by one only that they may be overcome.

Some special protection may be necessary in order to insure that disabled men receive standard wages. The principle of equal pay for equal work, or better, for equal product, is the only sound one. The receipt of compensation for disabilities received in the war must, of course, be allowed to have no bearing on the wages paid, and in the interests of fellow workmen the disabled men must not be utilized to depress wages. The anxiety of the cripple himself to get work may induce him to offer himself at less than the standard rate of wages, and an employer may not see why he should engage a cripple if he has to pay the same wage as to an able-bodied worker. There is also the possibility that the cost of insurance against industrial accidents will be increased by the presence of disabled men in the establishment. Undoubtedly the risk is slightly increased. If, however, the general policy of a wide normal distribution of the disabled men is carried out, the risk in any place is only very slightly increased, and probably American casualty companies, like those in England, would carry this slightly increased risk without additional expense. The State and mutual insurance funds which carry this kind of accident insurance would no doubt find it quite possible to do the same, always assuming that it is in fact diffused through the whole industrial and commercial structure of society and not concentrated in a few factories. In France the Parliament, almost painfully logical in all such matters, created a special fund to carry this risk, so removing from all employers any such excuse for not employing *mutilés*. It has been proposed to provide affirmatively if necessary that every establishment shall employ a given propor-

tion of disabled men. It is inconceivable that such a provision should be necessary in the United States unless the war should last long enough to make them a larger element in the population than seems at all probable.

At the outset so many generous employers and sympathetic foremen may be in evidence that it may be thought superfluous to insist on equal pay for equal product, but the only safe basis for permanent industrial relations is that no favors will be asked; that those who are able to measure up to the requirements generally imposed on others will be paid standard wages; and that those who can work, but can not do a full day's work regularly, shall be put on some special basis, equitable to themselves, their fellow workmen, and the employer.

The adjustment of the disabled veteran's economic status in industry is only one aspect of the far larger question as to how standards of requirements and of remuneration shall be fairly adjusted to individual workers. Standards are necessary and individual adjustments are necessary, and they must be reconciled.

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